Winter, 1985

3657

OT504: WRITINGS.    James T. Butler    3645

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## SCHEDULE OF CLASS SESSIONS

W    January 2:  Introduction to the Writings

### The Psalms

M    January 7:   The Psalter as a Collection

W    January 9:   Laments and Thanksgivings

M    January 14:  Hymns and Other Genres

W    January 16:  The Book of Lamentations

M    January 21:  NO CLASSES:  Seminary closed in observance of Martin
                   Luther King Day

### Wisdom

W    January 23:  Introduction to the Wisdom Literature    (Midterm
                                                  examination due)       *

M    January 28:  Proverbs

W    January 30:  Proverbs, cont.

M    February 4:  Job

W    February 6:  Job, cont.

M    February 11: Ecclesiastes (or, Qoheleth)

W    February 13: Song of Songs

M    February 18: NO CLASSES:  Seminary closed in observance of
                               Washington's Birthday

### Faithfulness under Adversity

W    February 20: Ruth and Esther

M    February 25: Chronicles

W    February 27: Ezra-Nehemiah

M    March 4: Daniel

W    March 6: Daniel, cont.                              (papers due)    *

W    March 13 (11 a.m.):  Final Examination              *

REQUIREMENTS

(1) A <u>paper</u> consisting of <u>two</u> <u>parts</u>:

*one 2-part paper.*

    (a) a 6-7 page exegetical treatment of a selected text; and

*text/scholarly material but your statement.*

    (b) a 6-7 page exposition of a related theological issue.

The choices of texts/issues are as follows:

*imprecatory psalms.*

    --Psalm 137 / The Problem of the Cursing Psalms;

    --Job 13:1-12 / On Job's Friends:  the Danger of "Speaking Falsely
             for God";

    --Daniel 7 / "Thy Kingdom Come":  Visions of the Future in Prophecy
             and Apocalyptic.

The papers are due on <u>March 6;</u> late papers will be assessed one-third
of a letter grade for each two-day period beyond the deadline.


(2)  A one-hour <u>midterm</u> <u>examination</u> to be taken outside of class, without
the use of books or notes.  The examinations will be distributed on
January 16th, and are to be returned on <u>January 23rd</u>.


(3)  A one-hour <u>final</u> <u>examination</u> to be taken in class during the
examination period on <u>March 13</u>.


Each requirement (1a; 1b; 2; 3 above) will constitute 25% of the final
grade for the course.

Suggestions Regarding Paper Assignments:

Psalm 137 / The Problem of the Cursing Psalms

A. Exegesis:  Psalm 137

   Genre:  This is always an important question in working with the Psalms.
Is this a "community lament" (B.W. Anderson)?  Can it be related to the
"songs of Zion" mentioned in v.3?  Cf. L.C. Allen, pp. 237-238, 241-243.

   Structure:  How does the poet (consciously or unconsciously) accomplish
his effect?  What units of thought/expression do you see within the psalm
(e.g., vv. 1-3, 4-6, 7-9? or, vv. 1-4, 5-6, 7-9?) ?  Cf. Allen, pp. 237ff.

   Language:  (1) You are not exprected to work with the Hebrew of your
text, but you will want to be aware of any translation problems that under-
lie the English versions.  First, you should read the psalm in several
different translations (e.g., KJV, RSV, NIV, NEB, JerB, TEV):  are there
significant differences in wording?  different nuances that might affect
interpretation?  Second you should consult commentaries for explanations
of differences that you find.
      E.g.:  v. 5b:  "...let my right hand forget her cunning" (KJV, cf. NIV)
                     "...let my right hand wither" (RSV, cf. NEB, JerB)
                     "...may my right hand be forgotten!" (NAB)
                     "...may I never be able to play the harp again" (TEV).

   (2) Some words or phrases may be relatively easy to translate, but still
bear further study.  What were the "songs of Zion," and why would they be
hard to sing "in a foreign land"?  What are we to make of the "dashing" of
little ones against the rock:  is this hyperbole born of the poet's imagina-
tion?  an actual practice?  You will find other biblical references that are
interesting here.


B. Reflection:  The Problem of the Cursing Psalms

   May Christians pray in the spirit of Ps 137 and other "cursing" or
"imprecatory" psalms?

   Use the suggested resources in order to get your own reflection started:
how do these writers characterize the problem, what considerations do they
offer, what do they conclude about the psalms' appropriateness for Christian
worship?

   You will want to:  (1) cite the arguments of the resources explicitly as
you use them ("as Bright contends,..."; "according to Barth,...").
   (2) use Ps 137 as your primary example,  but feel free to cite other cursing
psalms as needed.  For instance, is the problem different when the enemies
seem to be personal rather than national foes (e.g., Ps 109)?
   (3) state you own conclusions.  What arguments do you find most cogent?
Are there significant issues not touched upon by your resources?

C. Resources:

> L.C. Allen.  Psalms 101-150 (Word Biblical Commentary).  Waco:  Word
>     Books, 1983.  Pp. 234-243
> B.W. Anderson.  Out of the Depths (Rev. Ed.).  Philadelphia:  Westminster,
>     1983.  Pp. 82-93.
> * Christoph Barth.  Introduction to the Psalms.  New York:  Scribners, 1966.
>     Pp. 43-48.
> * J. Barton Payne.  The Theology of the Older Testament.  Grand Rapids:
>     Zondervan, 1962.  Pp. 201-203.
> * C.S. Lewis.  Reflections on the Psalms.  New York:  Harcourt,Brace, 1958.
>     Pp. 20-33.
> * John Bright.  The Authority of the Old Testament.  Nashville:  Abingdon,
>     1967.  Pp. 234-241.

(*xeroxed copies on reserve in library.)

Job 13:1-12 / On Job's Friends:  the Danger of "Speaking Falsely for God"

A. Exegesis:  Job 13:1-12

Pericope (or unit):  Because your passage comes in the middle of a
larger work, you will need to locate it within its literary context (chs. 12-
14, Job's response to Zophar, which concludes the first cycle of the dialogues
between Job and his friends) and to defend its limits (i.e., what rationale
can be given for starting with 13:1 and ending with 13:12?).

Structure:  How does the thought of the passage move from one point to
the next?  E.g.:  Note how v.3 anticipates the second half of the chapter, in
which Job will take his "case directly to God--first, however, he disposes of
his friends, who are badly representing God.

Language:  One feature of this passage is its use of irony, especially
concerning the friends' credentials as "sages."  Job, after insisting upon
his own qualifications (vv.1-2; cf. 12:3), suggests that the friends have
not given sufficient attention to the wisdom tradition's emphasis upon
restraint of speech (cf. v.5 with Prov. 17:28)!  V.12 is also part of this
ironic note.  All of this is a part of Job's critique of traditional wisdom
as applied to his circumstances.

Another feature here is the use of legal language.  Use the commentaries
and/or prepare your own word studies to unpack the significance of Job's
accusations in vv. 7-8 (especially "show partiality," "plead the case").

B. Reflection:  On Job's Friends:  the Danger of "Speaking Falsely for God"

What is it that makes the friends' responses to Job "wrong"?  How can
we as Christians face suffering (that of others and our own) with integrity
and faithfulness?  When do our answers to the question "Why?" become self-
serving?

READING

| Date | Biblical Text | L-H-B | (Others) |
|------|---------------|-------|----------|
| January 2 | (Introduction) | 17-25; 307-318; 507-509 | |
| January 7 | Psalms with asterisk on pp. 235-238 of Anderson--approx. 58 pp.; whole book, 112 pp. | 510-532 | (Anderson, 13-105) |
| January 9 | " | | (Anderson, 106-165) |
| January 14 | " | | (Anderson, 166-233) |
| January 16 | Lamentations (9 pp) | 617-623 | |
| (January 21) | | | |
| January 23 | (Wisdom Literature) | 533-546 | |
| January 28 | Proverbs 1-16;30-31 (23 pp; whole book, 36 pp) | 547-559 | |
| January 30 | " | | |
| February 4 | Job 1-14; 28-42 (30 pp; whole book 42 pp) | 560-585 | |
| February 6 | " | | |
| February 11 | Ecclesiastes (10 pp) | 586-600 | |
| February 13 | Song of Songs (7 pp) | 601-610 | |
| (February 18) | | | |
| February 20 | Ruth; Esther (15 pp) | 611-616; 624-629 | |
| February 25 | 1 Chronicles 22-29; 2 Chronicles 29-31; 34-35; 36:17-23 (19 pp; whole book, 78 pp) | 630-658 | |
| February 27 | Ezra-Nehemiah (30 pp) | | |
| March 4 | Daniel (21 pp) | 659-674 | (Baldwin--use as a general resource for understanding Daniel and for preparing exam questions) |
| March 6 | " | | |

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Midterm Examination:   PSALMS

Rules: 1) Once you have opened the envelope, you must go ahead to take the
test and to finish it within one sitting of <u>1 hour and 15 minutes</u>
(25 minutes per question).
2) You may use your Bibles for all questions <u>except for Part A of #1</u>.
You must not use any other books or notes, nor are you to confer
with others.
3) Write your answers on 8½" x 11" notebook paper, staple the sheets
together, and write your name and FTS box number in the upper
right corner of the first sheet.
4) Papers must be turned in at <u>1 pm, Wednesday, January 23</u>.


QUESTIONS:

1) Part A:   Outline the typical structure of the three major types of
psalms:   lament, thanksgiving, and hymn (<u>without</u> reference to
your Bible).

   Part B:   Now briefly illustrate each genre by reference to one or more
of the psalms (Bibles should be used here).


2) Describe the features of the Psalter which show it to be a collection
of materials, drawn together over a long period of time in various
stages.


3) Choose <u>either</u> A <u>or</u> B:

   A:   Kingship has a crucial place in the Psalter.  Making reference to
specific examples, discuss how the psalms celebrate both the
kingship of God and the rule of his earthly regent of the line
of David in Jerusalem.

<u>or</u>   B:   Give a brief description and some examples of the following
categories of psalms:   Songs of Trust;
Wisdom Psalms;
Torah Psalms;
Zion Psalms.


All of the questions will be weighted equally; the midterm will constitute
25% of the final grade for the course.

# CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

| HEBREW BIBLE (24) | ENGLISH BIBLE (39) (Protestant) | ENGLISH BIBLE (46) (Catholic) |
|---|---|---|
| **TORAH (5)** | **LAW (5)** | **LAW (5)** |
| Genesis | Genesis | Genesis |
| Exodus | Exodus | Exodus |
| Leviticus | Leviticus | Leviticus |
| Numbers | Numbers | Numbers |
| Deuteronomy | Deuteronomy | Deuteronomy |
| **PROPHETS (8)** | **HISTORY (12)** | **HISTORY (14)** |
| *Former Prophets* (4) | Joshua | Josue (Joshua)* |
|   Joshua | Judges | Judges |
|   Judges | Ruth | Ruth |
|   1–2 Samuel | 1 Samuel | 1 Kings (1 Samuel) |
|   1–2 Kings | 2 Samuel | 2 Kings (2 Samuel) |
| *Latter Prophets* | 1 Kings | 3 Kings (1 Kings) |
|   Isaiah | 2 Kings | 4 Kings (2 Kings) |
|   Jeremiah | 1 Chronicles | 1 Paralipomenon (1 Chr.) |
|   Ezekiel | 2 Chronicles | 2 Paralipomenon (2 Chr.) |
|   The Twelve | Ezra | Esdras-Nehemias (Ezra, Neh.) |
|     Hosea | Nehemiah | Tobias (Tobit) |
|     Joel | Esther | Judith |
|     Amos | | Esther |
|     Obadiah | **POETRY (5)** | |
|     Jonah | Job | **POETICAL AND WISDOM (7)** |
|     Micah | Psalms | Job |
|     Nahum | Proverbs | Psalms |
|     Habakkuk | Ecclesiastes | Proverbs |
|     Zephaniah | Song of Solomon | Ecclesiastes |
|     Haggai | | Canticle of Canticles |
|     Zechariah | **MAJOR PROPHETS (5)** | Wisdom of Solomon |
|     Malachi | Isaiah | Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) |
| | Jeremiah | |
| **WRITINGS (11)** | Lamentations | **PROPHETICAL LITERATURE (20)** |
| *'Emeth (Truth)* (3) | Ezekiel | Isaias (Isaiah) |
|   Psalms | Daniel | Jeremias (Jeremiah) |
|   Proverbs | | Lamentations |
|   Job | **MINOR PROPHETS (12)** | Baruch |
| *Megilloth (Scrolls)* (5) | Hosea | Ezechiel (Ezekiel) |
|   Song of Solomon | Joel | Daniel |
|   Ruth | Amos | Osee (Hosea) |
|   Lamentations | Obadiah | Joel |
|   Ecclesiastes | Jonah | Amos |
|   Esther | Micah | Abdias (Obadiah) |
| Daniel | Nahum | Jonas (Jonah) |
| Ezra-Nehemiah | Habakkuk | Micheas (Micah) |
| 1–2 Chronicles | Zephaniah | Nahum |
| | Haggai | Habacuc (Habakkuk) |
| | Zechariah | Sophonias (Zephaniah) |
| | Malachi | Aggeus (Haggai) |
| | | Zecharias (Zechariah) |
| | | Malachias (Malachi) |
| | | 1 Machabees (1 Maccabees) |
| | | 2 Machabees (2 Maccabees) |

*Recent editions of the Catholic Bible and some recent Roman Catholic writers have conformed to the names as used in the RSV.

## The Psalter as a Whole

(1) An explicit <u>five-book</u> scheme, patterned after the Pentateuch (Genesis--Deuteronomy), represents the latest "shape" of the Psalter as a whole:

```
(Introduction:  Pss. 1-2)
 Book I  :      Pss. 1-41  (closing doxology:  41:13)
 Book II :           42-72 (72:18-19)
 Book III:           73-89 (89:52)
 Book IV :           90-106 (106:48)
 Book V  :          107-150 (150)
(Conclusion:  Ps. 150)
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(2) <u>Other collections</u> can be seen within this artificial framework which suggest earlier stages of the Psalter's development:

*in David*

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(Introduction:  Pss. 1-2)
        An original Davidic collection:      Pss. 3-41
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"Elohistic Psalter" —
| Korah musical guild: | Pss. 42-49 |
| Second Davidic collection: | 51-72 |
| Asaph musical guild: | 50, 73-83 |

*Ps. 14*
*↓*
*53*

More songs of various musical guilds: Pss. 84-89

```
Other, smaller collections   (Pss. 90-149):
    Yahweh's Kingship                93-99
    Pilgrimage                      120-134
    Third Davidic collection        108-110, 138-145
    Hallelujah Psalms               104-106, 111-113, 135, 146-150.
```

(Conclusion:  Ps. 150)

1/2/85          OLD TESTAMENT WRITINGS: NOTES

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                        law            TORAH  }

                     prophets          NEBIIM }   TeNaK

                     writings          KETHUBIM }
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CANON OF THE O.T.
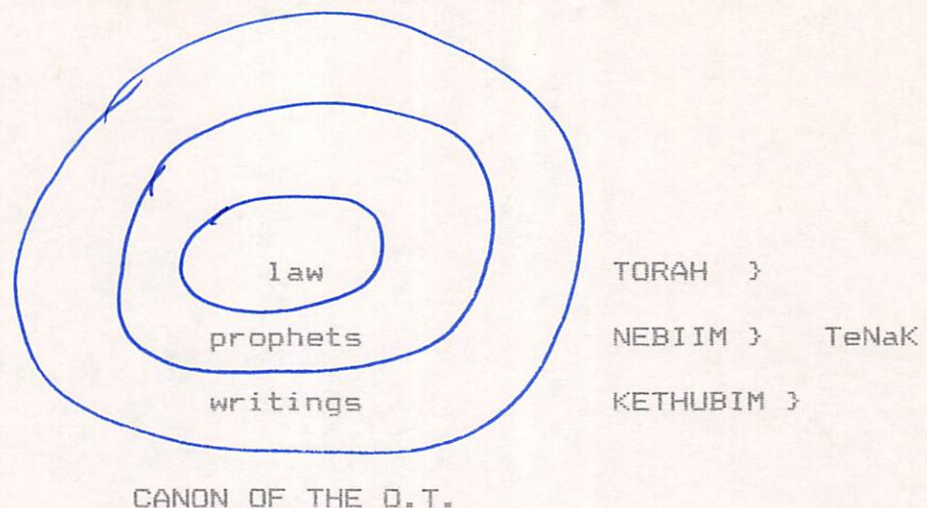
Logic of Eng. OT  (taken from LXX and the Vulgate) prose followed by poetry plus, historical attempts with conclusions in prophesy ---> Christianizing ? (i.e., looking forward to Christ)

The days of Ezra and the Great Synagogue brought prophecy to an end. People of the book, God's interpreters (the prophets) --> turned to the people's response (i.e., the Writings)

Ex.:
1.    Pre-eminence of Worship (Megelloth, etc.)
2.    Human reflection (Wisdom lit.)
3.    "Chaste" History (not the naive enthusiasm of the early
      kingdom; obvious reflection of the Exile the Judaism's new
      Nationlessness). [this nationlessness relates to our
      Christianity, sojourner, pilgrim motif]

### 

1/7/85

Ephiphany & the Arms Control: (opening tangent)
Orthodox Church --> Jesus' Baptism
Western Church ---> Visit of the Wise Men (presentation of Jesus to the Gentiles).
Psalm 72 - King given honor by other kings --> function of the King: Psalm 47-46 insure the peace of the subjects ....

 Psalms at the center of the Bible - represents peoples worship of God - contains a little of everything - the whole spectrum.
          ---> Focuses it all to WORSHIP <---

PROBLEMS WITH THE PSALMS:
1. Monotonous - one Ps. sounds like the next.
2. Sub/non-Christian nature in the Psalm (eg. Psalms of Cursing)
3. God's demand for Praise.

CHARACTER OF WORSHIP (in Psalms)

pattern to us in dealing with God

"Psalms is the prayer book of the Bible." Bonhoffer.

--we need to learn how to pray - it's not spontaneous, like we
learn how to talk or give (patterned responses) from the Father's
pattern --

WORSHIP OCCURS IN ALL TENSES

Past - Present - Future

PAST:       recount hist of Israel's past (salvation history)
            Psalm 105/106 - re-actualization, making present-
            recall wilderness traditions (analogous to Church
            Creeds)
            Wilderness }
            wandering  } book leads to Israel's response.
            of people  }

PRESENT:    Lament Psalms . . .

FUTURE:     Kingship of God-Psalms "grabbing the coat of a Jew and
            asking to be taken to Jerusalem to worship YHWH . . . "
            NT eg. Revelation 16:8


      all of the time . . .  all of us ---- universal (worship)
                all of us ---- communal (worship)

theocentric and not anthropocentric, worshipping God not self...

### 

1/9/85

PSALMS AS A COLLECTION

Davidic Collection          Psalms 3 - 41  {      BOOK ONE
Korah                       Psalms 42 - 49 }
Asaph                       Psalm 50       }      BOOK TWO
2nd Davidic Collection      Psalms 51-72   }
Asaph                       Psalms 73- 83
Misc. (Musical Guilds)      Psalms 84-89

              { why is Asaph alone? }

        Ps. 50, not versus sacrificial religion but the thought that
ceremonies can replaced by sacrificial acts
        Ps. 15 and 24: Liturgical Psalms -- songs as entrance to the
temple.
        Ps. 51 follows up Asaph's thought - re: sacrifice not enough
- penitent heart.
vs. 18,19: Exilic context? Reflection on true meaning of
sacrifice and the Future.

General understanding of Psalms headings and attributes reflect
Exilic interpretation and not necessarily actual Authorship/etc.
[Collections/BOOKS]

     Ps. 72 "Of Solomon" vs. 20 last prayer of David. B. Childs
"Of Solomon" should read "to/for Solomon."

LXX and the Mazoritic Text . . .
 9.............9 & 10
114...........114 & 115
116/117.......116
147/148.......147
                    USING A PSALM WITHIN A PSALM

Ps. 108: 1-5 = Ps. 57: 7-11    } Freedom of Anthologizing of the
Ps. 108: 6-13= Ps. 60: 5-12    } Liturgy - putting together parts
                                    of different Psalms


1 Chron 16: 8-22 = Ps. 105: 1-15    }
     "       23-33 = Ps.  96: 1-13    } Chronicler re-interprets
     "       34    = Ps. 106: 1       } history ....
     "       35ff  = Ps. 106: 47-48   }


We identify Psalms as a book --> it was a part of their
consciousness; draw on Psalms to express themselves.

Ps. 19:1 - 6 : Heaven's declare the glory of God  }      2
Ps. 19:7ff   : the Law of the Lord                }   Psalms ?

                 PSALMS 1 & 2 : INTRO TO THE PSALTER

TWIN THEMES: LAW & ANOINTED ONE/FUTURE HOPE
connects with the last Prophetic book (in the Heb. Chr.) Malachi
Mal. 4:4-5 Law and Elijah
Hakallah ----> Law - Imperative          }
Hagathah ----> Narrative - Indicative } Instruction of who we are
and who we should be.

Psalm 1:  Asherae- Blessed, Makarioi (gk)
     doesn't walk, stand, sit with the sinners

---> meditate - murmuring (ancient would reading to oneself =
reading aloud) --- internalizing .... like a tree
---> goes to nourishment ( " )

Wicked destroyed - Dichotomizes everything - 2 ways in
everything.

Psalm 2:  ends with Asherae- Blessed .....
 evil Nations "murmuring" (same word as used in Psalm 1 - used
rarely - Joshua 1:8 "meditate")
Sinaic - Covenant - Law - demands - vs. - Davidic - Grace

LAMENT (eg. Psalm 3)

A.    Address to God
B.    Complaint
C.    Confession of Trust              } Anderson's scheme
D.    Petition
E.    Words of Assurance
F.    Vow of Praise


Laments . . . Jer. 20.7ff "... You deceived me ... Lord is with
me ... let me see your vengeance .... sing to the Lord." --- part
of the Psalm of LAMENT  is the words of assurance, only those
that trust the Lord are going to come before the Lord and
complain . . . [complain and having Faith.....]


Psalter is 1/3 Laments


Psalm 31: vs 11 "terror on every side" phrase once here, once in
the book of Lamentations and 11 times in Jeremiah.
-- generalness invites usage by everyone.


### 

1/23/85
[Note: Lamentation to be covered with Song of Songs]

WISDOM LITERATURE

B. Childs, OT Books for Pastors and Students.

Descriptive questions:
     What is wisdom?
     Defining characteristics? (How's it different from non-WL?)
     How did it come into being?
     What different kinds of WL is there?

Theological:
     Can we make sense out of WL (out of the multitude of types)?
     What's the relationship between the simple proverbs (Value-
     affirming) and Job/Ecclesiastes (Value-questioning)?
     What holds this section of scripture together (within
     itself, much less with the rest of Scripture)?

Characteristics (Problems):
     Variety within Proverbs --- with the rest of Scripture.
     No appeal to Covenant/Torah.
     No appeal to Election traditions - the people of Israel,
     more viewed as advice to Individuals.
     No appeal to historical context or God's mighty acts in
     history.
     Common (intercultural/subject-wise) with surrounding
     communities - Which Proverbs are Sacred and not?  eg., "He
     who digs a ditch falls therein . . ." versus "Cleanliness is
     next to godliness" ?
     Not directed to "Salvation" - basic self-help, rules for

4

sound living.

Values of WL (Theological):
    Radically honest (tells it like it is) eg., Job!  "Look at
    life as it is and embrace it as it is."
    Openness to the world (faces the world outside, beyond
    Israel's traditional milieu).
    Culture affirming:
        Inherited from one generation to next, canonical
    endorsement to critically engage culture and claim it.
    Value of observed truth alongside revealed truth.
    Value of middle-range living (WL):
        We tend to deal with over arching theories of life
    (systematizing); not where we live ---> Proverbs WL provides
    mid-range theory for living.
    Challenges Theological Theories.

Descriptive Questions: "What is Wisdom?" Looking at WL
    Proverbs, Job & Ecclesiastes,
    (deuterocanonical) book of Ecclesiasticus: eg., Sirach, Ben
    Sirah, Wisdom of Solomon [180 BC -> 132 BC, late 1st century
    BC Alexandria-Greek text, not in Hebrew]
    some of the Psalms, Song of Songs (Solomon)

    (apocraphal/pseudopigriphal) books:
    Tobit
    1 Esdras 3:1-4:63
    Letter of Aristeas
    IV Maccabees
    Baruch 3:9-4:9
    Pseudo-Phacylides
    Pirke Aboth

    - other portions of Scriptures considered part of WL:
    Joseph in Egypt, Davidic Court . . .

Use of the word "Wisdom" and cognates in the OT:

                    "hakam" (verb)

| | |
|---|---|
| Historical Books: | 73 |
| Prophets: | 41 |
| Psalms: | 13 |
| Job/Prov/Eccl.: | 180 (3/5) |
| elsewhere: | 5 |

"Magical Arts":
Mesopotamia: no equivalent term: closest term = archain skills;
    hidden arts; cultic.  In the OT, in the foreign courts the
    "hakamin" eg., Joseph story Genesis 42. Wisdom --> magical
    arts, dream interpretation, divination.

Exodus 7:11, Pharaoh summons the wisemen "hakamin" and
    sorcerers . . .

Daniel 11, Nebuchadrezer finds Daniel and friends wiser than all,
    dreams, etc.

"Skill/Craftsmanship":
Jer 9:16:  Professional mourners paralleled with Wisemen.
Ex 31:1-11: Artisans-skilled laborers (re: building the Ark).
Ps 107:27: seamanship was in vain wisdom ("hakamatha").
2 Sam 13:3:  Jonadab was a shrewd, cunning, craftiness.
Proverbs:  Skill in living; avoid the hazards of life.  Enjoy the
    benefits that prudence brings and handling the mishaps.
Deut 4: 5-8:  Divinely endowed insight into life.
Job 28; Proverbs: The fear of the Lord (YHWH) is the beginning of
    wisdom.
Proverbs 8 (Sir. 24): Wisdom as a the divine ordering principle
    in life/ creation.

Excursus:
    NT & Wisdom: Feminine word form in the Hebrew and the Greek,
    NT seems to avoid WL, perhaps to avoid a feminine influx of
    understanding in the Godhead, per goddess-ness of the Divine
    in Pagan religions - Father God, Mother God . . .  John's
    prologue: the Divine is "Logos" and not "Sophia" (per
    Proverbs 8) . . .  ****

    OT Sages not recorded to traffic in Magic-wisdom except when
    face to face with foreign courts: eg., Joseph, Moses, and
    Daniel.

WL Historically:
    19th century theologians thought of WL as a late movement in
    OT, pseudonigms - Wisdom of Solomon . . . late stuff, Sirach
    - 180 BC, late . . . Greek influence - Writings (including
    Pss.), Maccabean period . . .

    Recent attitudes re WL:
    Archeology ---> Egyptian/Babylonian WL pre-dates Israel, in
    1923 the teaching of Amen-em-apea was found (parallels
    Proverbs 17-24:22), brings to the fore the relationship of
    Solomon with Egypt, see 1 Kings 4:29ff
    1 Kings 10 Sheba
    1 Kings 9 Solomon's wife and Egyptian.
    2 Samuel 8:16-18
    2 Samuel 10: 13-16  }    Egyptian names among David and
    1 Kings 4: 1-6           Solomon's courts, among his scribes.
                             Royal secretaries/heralds/etc.
                             parallels . . .

    If you're going to build a Monarchy where do you go for the
    know-how?  To a successful example; Israel patterned itself
    after Egypt's court monarchy.  [thought: the scribes in
    Egypt did the writing of the WL --- who were then imported
    by Solomon; Amen-em-apea and the book of Proverbs ??]

    This period was called the Solomonic Enlightenment.
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1/28/85

## Terminology - Wisdom - "Hakama"

The connection of Solomon with Proverbs was helped by the
Archeological finds in Egypt re: Middle Eastern Proverbs, etc.

Kiel & Dilisch OT commentary:  If Solomon wrote Ecclesiastes and
     the parts of Proverbs attributed to him then there is no
     dicernible knowledge of the History of the Hebrew language.

     Solomon:   youth- wrote Song of Songs
                middle aged wrote Proverbs
                aged wrote Ecclesiastes . . . ?
Books on Proverbs:
     McKane.  "Proverbs."  OT Library
     D. Kidner.  "Proverbs."  Tyndale OT Commentary
     James Williams. "Those That Ponder Proverbs." (genre of
     Proverbs --- Aphoristic Sayings).

     Strong point of contact between Israel and Greek culture ---
     compare LXX edition of the Proverbs and the Mazoritic text,
     very different "touch."

Authorship:
     "Wisdom of many, wit of one."  Universal human experience

"Outline" of Proverbs:
ch 1-9: Proverbs of Solomon, Son of David . . .  Instruction
     genre, longer blocks of material.
ch 10:1-22:16: Proverbs of Solomon.  Shorter sayings material
     (shift of genre).
ch 22:17-24:22: Sayings of the Wise. [priority of Amen-em-apea]
ch 24:23-34: Further Sayings of the Wise. Appendix of the above.
ch 25-29: Hezekiah Collection (of Solomonic Proverbs).  [Fall of
     the Northern Kingdom, 716-687 BC, Revival of WL]
ch 30: Sayings of Aqur.  Quotation and Response.  Instruction
     genre . . .
ch 31:1-9:  Sayings of King Lemuel of Massa.  Mother and children
     instructions.
ch 31:10-31:  Acrostic Poem to Woman of Merit.

Chapters 1 through 9 are relatively structured, give up on the
     rest.
     1:1-7: is an intro.
     1:9: "the fear of the Lord"  religious under pinning of
     Proverbs, marks "structure"

Patrick Sukehan and "Numerology in Proverbs":
     2-7 seven columns of 22 lines of poetry
     10:1-22:6 is 375 lines = "Solomon"
     25-29 is 139 lines = "Hezekiah"
     Total book is 932 lines = "Solomon, son of David . . ."
     opening line of Proverbs . . . [?]

Distinction between chapters 1-9 and chapters 10-31 (per R.B.Y. Scott, Anchor Bible)

* PRECEPT - Instruction, training, teaching ["muser"] chapters 1-9 (22:17-24:22 mixed): imperative discipline, punishment, mandatory, authority of parents/tribe/judge: "hear my son your father's instruction . . ."

* PROVERB - Sentence literature [aphorism] - counsel, advice, persuasion offered for, indicative mood, self validating (in the 3rd person): "this is the way it is . . . " ["'eash"]

## PRECEPT LITERATURE

10-12 units - interspersed with wisdom speaking as a person.

Sayings of Lemuel - instruction literature.

Dominant genre of wisdom from Egypt-
2500 - 500 BC from the Pyramids to the Persian Empire. Before Archeology, Proverbs thought to be attributed to the Greeks ('til the '20s with the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, which helped translate the Egyptian language [an extremely difficult language to put together], and upon piecing together the language their wisdom literature was discovered). "My son . . ." parent-child/teacher-student

Egyptian/Israel Themes:
1. Value of Wisdom (3:1-4)
2. Avoidance of Evil Doers (1:8-19)
3. Good Treatment of Neighbors (3:27-30)
4. Avoidance of Sexual Enticements (6:20ff, 7:6ff)
    (Instruction Literature of Sorts ---> the Genesis story of Joseph and Potipher's wife . . . )
5. Wisdom Metaphor (7:1-5, 8:1ff)
    Personified picture of Wisdom, eg. Dame Wisdom (9:1ff) & Dame Folly (9:13ff) --- this was thought to be a late development for Israel 'til Egyptian "Ma`at" ("wisdom") metaphor beyond the gods.

## SENTENCE LITERATURE

10:1ff   "Mashal" - "to rule" "sovereign saying" "to be like. . ." Most likely means: something having to do with a model, example, or paradigm

BEGINNINGS: One line proverbs:
1 Samuel 24:13: From evil doers comes evil deeds.
Ezekiel 16:44: Like mother like daughter
1 Kings 20:11: Better to boast about a matter after the battle.

--- Single lines with second lines added to flesh out the

idea, presented in á literary form of two line parallelism
(just good poetry).  Compare:
14:31 & 17:5          12:13 & 13:2          10:2b & 11:4b
      15:33 & 18:12.


ANALOGOUS: Simile, "like" sayings, found in chapters 25 & 26:
      eg., 25:14


ANTITHESIS: contrast (chapters 10-15)
      "ninety percent of chapters 10-15," per Von Rad
      eg., 10:1, 12, 16, 11:14; 14:29-30.


"BETTER THAN . . ." comparisons
      eg., 12:9 ; 15:16-17; 17:1; 21:9 (Excursus: Jesus' proverbs
      were not anti-women, didn't use the "Golden Mean"
      ["Moderation is the answer"] either)


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1/30/85


TWO MAJOR CATEGORIES: Precept — instruction — longer (1-9)
                      Proverb — sentence lit. — shorter (10ff)


      RECAP:
      !like . . . like
      !contrast, anti-thesis
      !better than, comparison of value.


RHETORICAL QUESTION: eg., 17:16 (rare)


STATEMENT OF CONSEQUENCE: eg., 26:27
      the nature that judgement happens — retribution — self-
      responsibility toward judgement.  eg., Esther — Hamen builds
      scaffold to hang Jews on which he is killed. 30:32,33 —->
      Act & consequence.


NUMERICAL PROVERBS: (also found in Ugaritic lit., quite a bit).
      Possibly used as a riddle, formulation "hiddoth" (shouldn't
      feel too bad about not being able to interpret — quite a bit
      to "unpack").  30:24-28 [x, x + 1], 30: 18-19; 30:21-23;
      30:7-9 ("the middle way"); 6:16-19 ("seven deadly sins").


PARABLE/AUTO-BIOGRAPHICAL STYLIZATION:
      eg., 6:6-11 (also 24:30-34) — Ant and the Sluggard (note:
      the proverb "A little sleep . . . " is filled out in these
      literary forms)


      [proverbs not given in the context of the people (of
      Israel), nor is the Covenant mentioned (except in 2:17) —
      there is a slight hint of consequences ... but not an


                              9

interventionalist attitude (i.e., God coming down and inflicting judgement), these consequences seem to be based on a theology of creation — i.e., the created orders.  The order in Creation — judgement via the created order of things.
EXCURSUS:

| ORIGINATION | | CONTINUANCE |
|---|---|---|
| (aetiological) | | |
| Historical line | Creation | life as perception |
| Genesis 1 | <——————————> | Psalm 104 |
| Salvation | | Blessing |
| From Eden to the New Jerusalem | | from day to day |
| | | (harvest) |
| "Telos" | | can be broken |

Claus Westerman, Elements of OT Theology, Blessing in the Life of the Church, What Does the OT Say about God? and G. Von Rad, Wisdom in Israel.

Recognize the form if the proverb and the wording, the gnomic apprehension — meaning in the form and the words . . .


RELATION BETWEEN CULTURES


Tyre ****    *                          ***  WISDOM FOLLOWED
     *  *    *        . . .                   THE TRADE ROUTES
    *  *    *      .         .                UP FROM EGYPT AND
    *  *    *    .           .                MESOPOTAMIA ***
     **    *    .            .
        *   .    SYRIA-    .         ^
        *   .   PALESTINE  .      ^      ^
      *   .              .      ^          ^
       *   .              .   ^  ^  ^  ^ ^ ^  ^ ^
        *   .              .    ^  ^    ^  ^ ^ ^
      *   .              .    ^    ^^^   ^^  ^ ^ ^
      *   .   " "        .   ^ ^^                        ^^ MESOPOTAMIA ——>
      *   . " " " " " "     .   ^  ^^ ^^^^      ^^^^  ^
      *   . " " " " " " " " " " .  ^ ^^ ^   DESERT  ^^      ^
      *   . " " " " " " " " " " " " ".  ^  ^         ^     ^^ ^
      *   . " " " " " ISRAEL" " " " " .    ^      ^^^ ^    ^^^^
      *.  " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " ".  Bene Qedem  ^^^     ^^  ^
      *.  " " " " " " " " " " " " " " ".    ^  ^      ^        ^^
      *   .   " " " " " " " " " ".       ^^^ ^       ^^       ^^^ ^
      *   .     " " " " " ".    EDOM   ^ ^ ^    ^^^^^^  ^^^^      ^
       *   .          .              ^^       ^   ^^^   ^^^^^^^
        *   .     .  .             ^^^^^  ^     ^   ^^^^   ^^^   ^
         *   .                    ^ ^^^^      ^^        ^^^^^^^^^^
          *                      ^   ^^^^   ^^    ^^^^^      ^^^
           *                    ^    ^^^^   ^^^    ^^    ^   ^  ^
      <—— EGYPT                 ^^^    ^      ^^^^^^^^^^      ^^^ ^
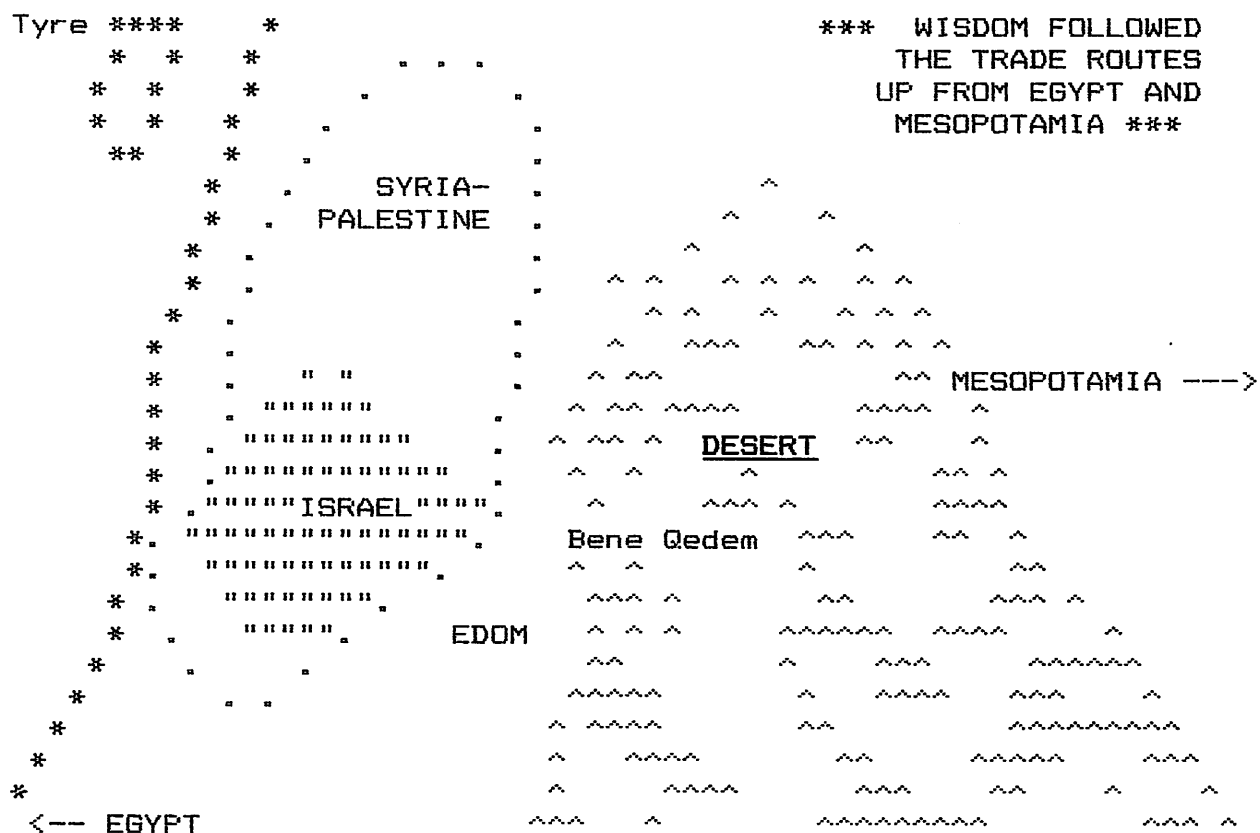
Patterns of Wisdom Literature in Caanan culture (see above map), related to cultic material.

CHIEF SOURCES:
Egypt:
tradition relating to Egyptian influence on Israel:
EXODUS EXPERIENCE:
1) Joseph [extremely wise . . .],
2) Moses [schooled in all of Egypt].
PROXIMITY.
POLITICAL CONTROL:
"Amarna letters" - various city-state kings to the Pharaoh (as vassal)
STABILITY:
water/fertility/easily defended [narrow corridor] (this factor allowed for the development of WL)

Egyptian Wisdom Lit. generally value affirming (they believed in an after-life).

MESOPOTAMIAN INFLUENCE:
1) Cultural connection via origin (tradition going back to get wives eg. Isaac and Jacob).
2) Linguistic ties.

Mesopotamian WL had a heavy dose of value questioning:
1) fertility problematic - too much/too little water,
2) didn't know of an after-life - theodicy lit. evident,
"How can I praise you in Sheol? . . ."  Theme of questioning the Divine.

EDOM - ESAU:
Job 2:11
Jer. 49:7
Obadiah (rejoicing over Edom's fall - retribution for Edom rejoicing over Israel's fall).

BENE QEDEM:
People of the East:
1 Kings 4: 30-31

TYRE:
Ezekiel 28

Ronald J. Williams re: Wisdom literature in other cultures:
1. works to bring ethical teaching and useful advice - value affirming wisdom (indicative mood [.])
2. works to bring questions of traditional beliefs (concerned with the larger issues of Life) - value questioning wisdom (interrogative mood [?])

## INSTRUCTION LITERATURE

EGYPTIANS: "sboyet" egyptian word for Instruction literature,
2500 - 500 BC, forms depended on the national mood (eg.,
easy optimism of the old kingdom to anxious times when
the empire was in trouble).

father to son (or teacher to pupil) - don't address to
someone in official capacity . . . (indoctrination for
someone in civil-service).

Themes:
ORDER: "ma'at" - this is the way the world works, you don't
want to go against it.
RESTRAINT - of emotions, you're to watch out for the "heated
man," eg., restraint in speech ----> Ideal = silent man.
in manners, gluttony . . .
DILIGENCE, PRUDENCE, MAINTAINING GOOD RELATIONSHIPS,
DISCIPLE (often religious) . . . mentions the gods (late
period mainly)

## SENTENCE LITERATURE

EGYPTIAN: not frequent

MESOPOTAMIA: same as Israelite lit. eg., "We are doomed to die,
let us spend; we will live long, let us save."
Patriarchalisms: "Who has not supported a wife or child, his
nose has not worn a leash."  "A restless woman in the house
adds ache to pain."  "For his pleasure, marriage; on his
thinking it over, divorce."  "A joyful heart, the bride; a
sorrowful heart, the groom."  etc., etc.

Examples of Fables: few from Egypt (one about a quarrel
between the body and the head). Several in Sumarian &
Accadian, eg., a dispute between a date palm and a tamerisk
tree (compare with Jothan's fable in Judges 9:7 -15

*****

## LIMITS OF THE ENTERPRISE OF WISDOM

Anthropocentric - Empirical - highly pragmatic - life
science - there are limits to this idea . . .
these limits lead to value questioning proverbs.

Prov. 16:1,2: the limits of our planning, knowing . . .
  "    16:9:           "                  "
  "    19:14:          "                  "
  "    21:30-31:       "                  "
  "    20:24:          "                  "
Eccl 8:16-17; Job 28: God's wisdom is inscrutable, beyond
our knowing.
2 Samuel 15:30ff: The story of Ahithophel and Hushai - "man
purposes and God disposes . . ."  No counsel can tie up YHWH

"wisdom" is limited.  Sometimes proverbs contradict itself,
eg., Prov. 26: 4-5 the fool, what do you do?  Context!

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2/4/85

WISDOM LITERATURE - LIMITATIONS - SHORT OF A SYNTHESIS/ULTIMACY

VALUE AFFIRMING                    VALUE QUESTIONING
Causality:                        Causality:
10:27ff orderly cosmos -          questions retribution
retributive order (dominant       does it exist?
picture across Scripture)         inadequate ret.
relationship between              theology, Job 21:7ff
Creation & YHWH                   bitter protest- innocent
                                  suffering Ps 44.

Source of Wisdom:                 Source of Wisdom:
Human observation plus            Life at its roots is
cultural transmission (teaching)   mysterious - inscrutable,
                                  if one has wisdom, it is
                                  a gift from God.

Life experiences ---> synthesis to bring together and relate
one to another.
Value affirming wisdom: middle range theory of life.
                              ^
                              ¦ CRISIS
                              V
Value Questioning wisdom: ultimate question . . .
                                                  How we understand
                                                  life
```
 _____
      ^   ^   ^   ^       ^
  ¦   ¦   ¦   ¦   ¦       ¦
  ¦   ------- ¦   ¦       ¦          }
  ¦     ----- ¦   ¦       ¦          }
--------      ¦   ¦   ¦              }  the events of life
              ¦   ¦   --------       }
      --------    ¦   ¦              }
              ----                   }
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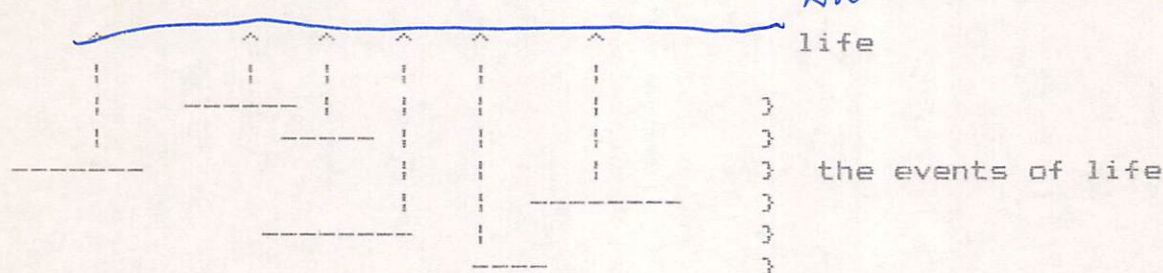
Limitations of wisdom "When someone directs his steps, God
still may thwart it."

God's wisdom over rides man's.  Greatest problem with Value-
affirming wisdom is pride: Proverbs 26:12, human wisdom is
limited and fallible.

## THE BOOK OF JOB

Characters:
Job: "'ayab" possibly meaning, "enmity", "repent", or it was just
    a good semitic name (only other mention of Job in the OT is
    Eze 14:14,20).

# Structure and Contents

From: R. Gordis, <u>The</u> <u>Book</u> <u>of</u> <u>God</u> <u>and</u> <u>Man</u>: <u>A Study</u> <u>of</u> <u>Job</u> (1965), pp. 231-2.

Job:  A Comparison of Translations

5:7   RSV    ...but man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward.  (=KJV)

      NEB    man is born to trouble, as surely as birds fly upwards.

      Pope   Man, indeed, is born for trouble,
             And Resheph's sons wing high.

      Jer.   It is man who breeds trouble for himself
             as surely as eagles fly to the height.

      TEV    No!  Man brings trouble on himself,
             as surely as sparks fly up from a fire.  (cf. NAB; Gordis)

13:15 KJV    Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him:
             but I will maintain mine own ways before him.

      NEB    If he would slay me, I should not hesitate;
             I should still argue my cause to his face.

      Jer    Let him kill me if he will; I have no other hope
             than to justify my conduct in his eyes.

      RSV    Behold, he will slay me; I have no hope;
             yet I will defend my ways to his face.

      TEV    I've lost all hope, so what if God kills me?
             I am going to state my case to him.

19:20 RSV    My bones cleave to my skin and to my flesh,   (cf. KJV)
             and I have escaped by the skin of my teeth.

      NEB    My bones stick out through my skin,
             and I gnaw my under-lip with my teeth.

      Pope   My flesh rots on my bones,
             my teeth drop from my gums.

19:25f KJV   For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the
             latter day upon the earth:
             And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall
             I see God:

      RSV    For I know that my Redeemer lives, and at last he will stand upon the earth;
             and after my skin has been thus destroyed, then from my flesh I shall see God,

      NEB    But in my heart I know that my vindicator lives and that he will rise last
             to speak in court;
             and I shall discern my witness standing at my side and see my defending
             counsel, even God himself,

      TEV    But I know there is someone in heaven who will come at last to my defense.
             Even after my skin is eaten by disease, while still in this body*I will see God.
             (*footnote offers alternative:  although not in this body)

      Jer    This I know:  that my Avenger lives, and he, the Last, will take his stand
             on earth.
             After my awaking, he will set me close to him, and from my flesh I shall look on God.

Historical person? associated with the Edomites, eg., Jobab, decendant of Esau (Gen 36:34) . . .

Eliphaz: Gen 36:11

Uz:  land to the far north (Gen 10:22-23)
     associated with the Edomites (Gen 36:28)
     Book of Lamentation 4:21

     *** none of these figures are pictured as Israelites — the story was written by an Israelite.  The Rabbinics later referred to Job as the Righteous Gentile.  (Predates Moses ?).

Elihu: only one with an Israelite name.

Difficult to Translate:
     1) largest number of "hapaz logomina" single occurances of a word.
     2) difficult syntax.

     Examples (see handout):
     5:7 "man was born to . . ." or "man produces . . ."
     13:15: "indeed I will hope . . ." or "no hope"
     19:25: who is the "goel" (redeemer)?

Difficulties, Literary Issues:
     Prose Prologue and Epilogue; Poetry Dialogue — Von Rad Wisdom & Israel — book doesn't hold together because of poetry and prose.

     2) In the Prologue we see the patient Job (certainly not the Job of the Dialogue).

     3) Framework (Prose-Poetry-Prose;suffering-patience-reward) speaks of Retribution theology, but the whole Dialogue counters that.  (It's possible to read in Retribution theology).

     4) Sacrifice: mentioned in the Prose section, but not in the Poetry (an element that is extremely important in Middle-Eastern culture).

     5) Language: Prose the name of god is YHWH or Elohim, in the Poetry it's everything except YHWH

     6) We have detached observation in the Prose, passionate involvment in the Poetry.

     7) Mention of Job's children in Poetry as if they were alive "beteni" (mother's womb — nephews/nieces)

     8) The Third Cycle (In the Dialogue):
     Bildad cut short; no speech by Zophar; Job says things that seem out of character (see 27:13ff)

9) Chapter 28: Who's the speaker?  If it's Job then why does
he say the things he says in 29?  If it's Job than 28 can
only be viewed as being satirical. . .

10) The Elihu speeches (32-37):
Where did he come from (not mentioned in the Prologue or
Epilogue).  different lanuage, eg., "I" is a different word
than previously used in the book.  Only character to use
direct quotations from earlier speeches (see 33:8-11 &
13:24).  This section interrupts the flow of the book---
Job's passionate plea followed by six chapters of material
before God speaks his point. [Gordis and Pope feel that this
is a section that was later added to the work; same author
or different author . . .  They question the reliability of
word statistics?]  What is the functions of the Elihu
chapters (set the stage for YHWH speeches?)  The "Friends"
are wrong according to the Epilogue, but was Elihu wrong?

11) Divine Speeches:
Pope - okay; Williams: In view of Job's plight God says,
"Observe the hippopotomas . . ."  What does that have to do
with anything? . . .

The Unity of Job:
    Author of Job ---> story inherited about the Righteous
    Sufferer, Job (historical figure? Jobab King of Edom?) cries
    out to God

    1) Unique Retribution scheme Prologue-Dialogue-Epilogue - if
    you wait, God will vindicate you, but the Dialogue text goes
    contrary to that.
    2) The profit of worshipping God . . .

    Ancient Tale:

    | tale fixed form | .--->-popular story       > . |
    |---|---|
    | Poetry (high art) | (anti-retribution questions)   Retribution tale |
    | tale | . < |
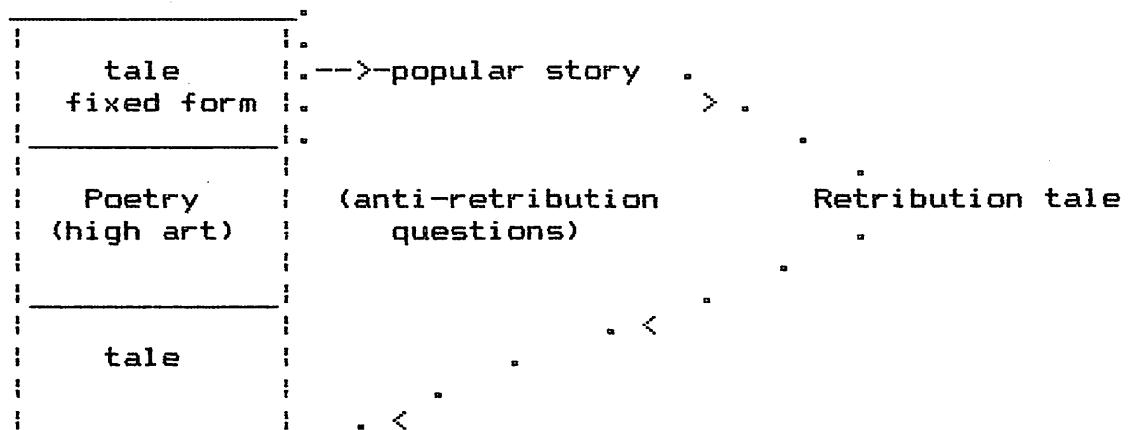
    Babylonian genre: suffers - prays - is restored
    Job: suffers - [questions: why do  - prays - is restored
                    innocent suffer? ]

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2/6/85
## THE BOOK OF JOB (a running commentary on,)

PROLOGUE:
1:1-5: pairing of materials description of Job and possessions –
    best of the human race.

1:6-12:  Heavenly council, "the" Satan, YHWH initiates
    conversation and points out Job.
    * "DOES JOB FEAR GOD FOR NOTHING?"

1:13-22: First Test:
    1. Sabeans (human aspect) takes the cattle
    2. By Fire (God aspect) takes the sheep
    3. Chaldeans (human aspect) take camels
    4. Great wind (God aspect) take children

2:1ff: Second Test:
    Job & God & Satan (a created being, dependent of God, not
    mentioned again in this book after this test [?]) . . .
    the book never drifts into Dualism.

EXCURSUS: Satan:
    Adversary:      1 Sam 29:4
                    2 Sam 19:22; 24:1
                    1 Kings 5:4
                    Numbers 2:23
                    Psalms 109
                    Zech 3:1
                    1 Chron 21:1
    Old Testament picture is much less developed regarding
    Satan.
    Bad things/good things ---> go back to God, we received good
    from God, shall we not receive evil.  Not dualism.  Not
    another kingdom.  If you "blame" Satan you cut the Theodicy
    cord (but venture into Dualism). ***

    "going to and from throughout the earth," cf., Zech 4:10,
    sees oppressed by God. df., Job 7:17, see Psalm 8, Isa 45:7,
    evil and good and God.

Conclusion:
    "Does Job worship God for nothing? ---> Book of Grace.
    1) Is God is just?  Theodicy
    2) Are human beings gracious? (worshipping God freely)

    1st question: (from Satan), Idea of retribution theology,
    "Do good for good reward, do bad . . . " vending machine
    theology, in Job it is insufficient (scheme) to answer human
    suffering - reality . . .  Don't want to sever doing and
    getting, etc.: Virtue--> prosperity (more than from vice),
    sincerity --> satisfying relationships (more than from
    deceit).  Affirmation proverbs ---> doesn't always work the
    other way, eg., suffering does not point to an unrighteous

person.  VA not totally adequate to explain why.  It is not true that all suffering is merited . . . or prosperity.  Meaning of "successful" and "goodness."

"Religion" and "ideology" (system versus true existence) — suffering and keeping ones system together for its own sake, "Are you going to lie for God, offer bribes for God?"  Job's friends spoke true words in themselves but they weren't properly applied as far as Job's condition was concerned, they chose their system over the truth.  Job will hold on to God (truth) but let go of the system --- friends know God through the system.  This situation pre-figures faith and salvation ---> Job worships God for "nothing."  Elihu's point in 35:1ff, "what do we have to offer for life to be fair or good?"  It's not for his sake that God cares but for our sake, not for what we have to offer, but because he loves us.  Cosmic "quid pro quo" would have us do . . . (retribution), see Matthew 5:43ff (horizon to be walking toward not state of being).

Theodicy---
a way to hold world-views together.  "From the contradictions of Job there is a way to true, from the consistency of his friends, none."  Struggling from doubts to "understanding" but if you defend your view you won't "grow".  Sometimes we need to have people that in the midst of suffering to recognize the mystery of suffering and not expect the ABC answers, that may not be there.  Impulse to answer may be for protexting ourselves and not helping them.  We want to put evil in a box, more help by being there than by magic answers.

In Job his afterward he was better off than in the beginnings.  But we need to realize that having questions is not to sit outside of faith . . .  (sometimes God is more able to use our question than our answers)
New Job . . .

YHWH Speeches:
What does Job get?  In the first speech he thought he'd get an audience and ask questions but YHWH askes him to consider the wonders of the universe (undomesticated Creation) . . . To remind Job of his finitude.

Second speech (ch. 40), he says, become like God, consider Behemoth and Leviathan, two creatures beyond the control of mankind.
Pride in Job: word check on Pride in Job, occures in Elihu speeches 32:1,2; 35:12; 37:24; his finitude is a key to understanding his suffering.  Finitude of Job — we can't understand it why there's suffering . . . not that there's no answer.  PRIDE: unwilling to be creatures and live like creature, trying to outstretch our limitedness — alot going on that's not understood including Job's suffering, live with it . . .  The mysteries of life.

Practical Question from Job:
Suffering ---> it attacks our faith.  But why is theodicy a
question only when it's our suffering (existential
experience), until then it's just a philosophic question.
Shouldn't we react to suffering before it reaches our door,
especially in light of the Cross?

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2/11/85

## Ecclesiastes-Qoheleth

Name: (noun) found throughout the book, 1:1 NIV "Teacher," 12:9,
    10, etc., in the Hebrew without the definite article, not
    "the teacher" but like a proper name.
    12:8, with def. art.
    Ambiguity - is this a job title or a proper name?
    Qoheleth -> Ecclesiastes (this is the Greek equivalent), the
    Hebrew "qahal" means "assembly" (closest to the meaning of
    Church in the OT) - or - "qal" which means "sound," that is -
    "one who preaches" - or - according to the translation
    tradition, Martin Luther --> "The Preacher"
        Traditionally this refers to Solomon, and this is based
    on 1:1, 12, head of the Wisdom Lit. movement, role of the
    speaker - pursuit of riches, etc., very much in character
    with Solomon.  But this role is dropped after chapter 2 (?).
    12:9ff, the discourse is in 3rd person, without reference to
    his kingship.

Character of the Language of the Book:
    Post-Exilic period - doesn't say much about itself, later
    than other WL, the vocabulary is of a later period.  EG.,
    "pardes" (forest) found in 2:5 is in Song of Solomon 5:13
    and Nehemiah 2:8 - or - "pithgam" (sentence) in 8:11 is also
    in Esther 1:20 and in the book of Sirach.  The language is
    close to the Mishnah Hebrew
        Rabbis on how Solomon wrote the book:
    Song of Solomon: during his youth
    Proverbs: at the time of his maturity
    Ecclesiastes: in his old age.
        It had difficulty in being included in the Hebrew canon
    (along with the Song of Solomon), it begins with revelation
    truth and ends with revelations truth.
        It was written before the 2nd century BC; How does it
    fill with Helenizations, 353 BC?  Seems to be in period of
    peace, perhaps written outside of Palestine?

How to make sense out of the Structure of the Book?
    * nine sources: Q1-Q5, R1, R2, E1, E2.
    * Jastrow - 120 interpolate - written from extremely
    skeptical point of view and then up dated for positive point
    of view.
    * Seems to be of one hand - contradictions - rhetorical
    devices 1:2 & 12:8 "vanity of vanities . . ."  12:9ff -
    Epilogueist - speaks well of Q's words, editorial reflection

## Outline

TITLE (1,1)

POEM ON TOIL (1,2-11)

### I. QOHELETH'S INVESTIGATION OF LIFE (1,12-6,9)

| | |
|---|---|
| DOUBLE INTRODUCTION | (1,12-15)* |
| | (1,16-18)* |
| STUDY OF PLEASURE-SEEKING | (2,1-11)* |
| STUDY OF WISDOM AND FOLLY | (2,12-17)* |
| STUDY OF THE FRUITS OF TOIL: | |
| a) ONE HAS TO LEAVE THEM TO ANOTHER | (2,18-26)* |
| b) ONE CANNOT HIT ON THE RIGHT TIME TO ACT | (3,1-4,6)** |
| c) THE PROBLEM OF A "SECOND ONE" | (4,7-16)* |
| d) ONE CAN LOSE ALL THAT ONE ACCUMULATES | (4,17-6,9)* |

*ends with "(vanity and) a chase after wind"

### II. QOHELETH'S CONCLUSIONS (6,10-11,6)

INTRODUCTION (6,10-12): man does not know what God has done, for man cannot find out what is good to do and he cannot find out what comes after.

A. MAN CANNOT FIND OUT WHAT IS GOOD FOR HIM TO DO

CRITIQUE OF TRADITIONAL WISDOM

| | |
|---|---|
| ON THE DAY OF PROSPERITY AND ADVERSITY | (7,1-14)* |
| ON JUSTICE AND WICKEDNESS | (7,15-24)* |
| ON WOMEN AND FOLLY | (7,25-29)** |
| ON THE WISE MAN AND THE KING | (8,1-17)*** |

*ends with "not find out/who can find out"

B. MAN DOES NOT KNOW WHAT WILL COME AFTER HIM

| | |
|---|---|
| HE KNOWS HE WILL DIE; THE DEAD KNOW NOTHING | (9,1-6)* |
| THERE IS NO KNOWLEDGE IN SHEOL | (9,7-10)* |
| MAN DOES NOT KNOW HIS TIME | (9,11-12)* |
| MAN DOES NOT KNOW WHAT WILL BE | (9,13-10,15)** |
| HE DOES NOT KNOW WHAT EVIL WILL COME | (10,16-11,2)* |
| HE DOES NOT KNOW WHAT GOOD WILL COME | (11,3-6)*** |

*ends with "do not know/no knowledge"

POEM ON YOUTH AND OLD AGE (11,7-12,8)

EPILOGUE (12,9-14) — Link to canonical context.

of contents of the book.  The mystery of Truth & Wisdom --
should we study Philosophy?  Study the Torah, it's the
highest truth given.  The limits of Wisdom . . .

Forms Patterns:
* Reflections (Auto-biographical) 1st person prose,
narratives, 1:17; 16:14; "I said . . ."  Starts with a
question.

* Proverbs (anti-proverbs)
5:10; 1:18 - contrary to typical Proverbial saying.

* "Better than" sayings: 4:6, 11, 13 . . .

* Rhetorical questions: 2:22; 3:9 . . .

* Counter arguments: 2:14; 4:6
(2nd line negates the 1st) 9:18.

* Out of Context passages (typically used in pious
settings):
1:9 "Nothing new . . ."  but is conclusion of a longer poem
vss. 1-9; cyclic pattern.
3:1-8: "Turn, turn, turn."  look at vs 9 "what does the
worker gain from his toil?"  God teases us with this
knowledge of eternity ("olam"), but our restricted finitude
frustrates it.
9:10: work diligently because Sheol comes
9:11: race not to the swift . . . but time and chance.
12:1ff: remember your Creator in your youth because the
inevitability of ones fading life and coming death.

<div align="center">* SEE HAND-OUT ON ECCLESIASTES *</div>

Zimerli - Q is a conversational partner with Proverbs,
counter-point to Proverbs - within Canonical text, not the
sum of all truth!

Conclusions:
Wright - negative parameter - limitation in life, emphasized
limitation: Death.  2:14ff - Death the great equalizer.  The
book of Sirach, "There is no life after death," Wisdom of
Solomon, "There is life after death,"  Eccl. 3:19ff "who
knows?"
Von Rad (Lutheran interpreter) a very dark picture.  A foil
for the gospel, despair of looking at life hard and presses
on us the need for the gospel --> it presses us into the
arms of Grace.

R.K. Johnston, Confessions of a Workaholic: A Reappraisal of
Qoheleth.  "Ra'ah" (see) 47 times - passively appreciate
life.  "'anal" (toil) 34 times - when paired with "yithron"
(profit) it carries a negative meaning (toil, strive for,
etc.) 2:1 3:9; 5:15b;  when it's paired with "heleq"
(portion) it is affirmed (grace given, assigned, receive,

accept) 3:22; 5:18,19; God's gift of life not man's attempt
at Control.  Satisfaction in self-portion not self-
accomplishments.

**  FINITUDE  **  <--- 3:10!

###

2/13/85

# HINTS ON WRITING YOUR OLD TESTAMENT PAPERS

PSALMS 137:
PART I: Exegesis: ·

1. Defend the Passage [pericope: greek "unit"]
eg., Ps 137 is nine verses, very discrete; there is no
surrounding context (except perhaps its position in the
Psalter)

2. Genre and Overall Structure:
"Psalms," by Leslie Allen, Word Biblical Commentary, vol 3,
this is an inverted Zion Psalm . . .  A.A. Andersen, New
Century Commentary.

3. Use of Language (words):
be aware of the difficulties, eg., verse 5: "hands forgets"?
Present the alternates, usage in other passages, verse 9
"little ones dashed against the rocks . . ."

LIVE WITH THE TEXT FOR A WHILE AND THEN GO TO THE
COMMENTARIES!

PART II: Exposition:
    Thematically, Reflection, "What do we do with this?"
    Anderson Out of the Depths.
    Christoph Barth  Intro to the Psalms "Wicked Enemies."
    C.S. Lewis  Reflections on the Psalms  "The Cursings."
    J. Burton Paine  A Theology of the Older Testament
    (traditional stance on the Psalms).
    John Bright  The Authority of the Old Testament  (preaching
    from the OT) — thoughtful answers that take in a variety of
    positions —
        This paper should be a learned response to a question
    that might present itself some day . . .

Job 13:1-12:
PART I: Exegesis:
    "Lying for God" critique of retribution theology — the
    profit of religion, to side with God for favor.

    1. Pericope — live questions, is this a unit; relationship
    with overall context.

    2. Genre & Structure: flow of text . . .

    3. Language: whitewash with lies vs 4
                    worthless physicians vs 5
                    silence vs 5

legal terminology vss 8. 10:  vs 3 direct
approach to God - presenting ones case to God.  Friends are
unjust lawyers or judges.
use of irony

PART II: Exposition:
Francis Andersen "Job" Tyndale OT Commentary
Driver/Grey ICC
Pope Anchor Bible
Rowley  New Century Commentary

Key questions:  If Job's friends weren't helpful - how can
we avoid that problem?  How do we help the Jobs along the
way?  Comment on "Sowing and Reaping" (retribution theology)
How are they wrong - all or just in this case?  What's in it
for the friends - idea of "world" maintenance system -
"religion" over truth - Job lets his world come unglued to
maintain his faith - etc.  Are they keeping their world
together at the expense of God?  Ramifications for
counseling (read Jay Adams as example of Ret. theological
counseling).  Donald Capp Biblical Approach to Pastoral
Counseling.  Kushner  When Bad Things Happen to Good People.
Blaming the victim . . . limited God.


## The Song of Solomon

Pope Anchor Bible (a nine chapter book with a 700 page
commentary)
Carr Tyndale Old Testament Commentary  (form lit.,
comparative lit. - a book about human love).

Problems with the book:
Discerning the speaker, units, what's going on, no rubrics
to tell us this stuff (editorial additions by English
publishers) - this may be indicated by the change in the
person/number addressed [masc. sing., or fem. sing., or
masc. pl., or fem. pl.]  this information is not accessible
to the english reader.

One Unit Options:
1. TWO MAIN CHARACTERS: man/woman
   a. Solomon & his bride: engagement/wedding/married life.
   b. two ordinary people: king and queen for the day - J.G.
      Wetzstein - the male character is a rustic fellow,
      would this be the King?
2. THREE CHARACTERS: male/female/Solomon
the woman is true to her relationship to her man regardless
of Solomon's advances.

all this plus an un-named Chorus!

3. Who is the Female Character?
   a. Abishag Shunnamite
   b. woman of Shullam

      c. fem. form of Solomon
      d. Princess of Egypt

## More than One Unit:
1. variety of geographic references (most in the north)
2. repetition of phrases:
2:6 -> 8:3
2:7 -> 3:5 & 8:4
2:9 -> 2:17
3:1 -> 5:6
3:3 -> 5:7
3:5 -> 5:8


An anthology or unity?
stock phrases/collection reaching down to Solomon's time.

<p align="center">###</p>

2/20/85

## The Song of Songs

## Lines of Interpretation:
    1) Allegory (typology): * God and His people
                     * Christ & the Church
                     * Christ & the Individual Believer
  Christological terminology: "The Rose of Sharon," "The
lilly of the valley."  Used when dealing with the "Body
Descriptions" eg., &;1ff natural imagery and plastic arts
(Jewels . . .), vs. 2: "your navel . . ." --> Baptismal
font.
     Most likely used to in securing this book's place in
the Scriptures (when taking the book and seeing no obvious
theological ties with the rest of the Canon, one often reads
theological meanings into it).

    2) Drama:  (?)  Beyond having no characters defined some feel
that this book could never be presented as a play (by
western standards).  Song of Songs and the book of Job most
often associated with Drama.

    3) "Covert" Liturgy:  related to the ancient fertility
cults (per Theopholy Meek).  The author of the Song of Songs
obviously knew of the Tammuz (Accadian) - Adonis (Greek)
cult.  [Adoniah --> "Lord"?],  It was baptized into a Jewish
understanding.  The Idea of YHWH as being one's beloved was
rare but explains the relationship between God and the
people.

    4) Structurally Unified Secular Love Poem:  (Butler's
favorite).

    5) Cycle of Wedding Songs:  Following an example found in
Syrian weddings today, King-and-Queen-for-the-day motif.

    6Anthology of Love Poems:  Orally transmitted with refrains

to help transmission ("stock phrases").

## Theological Lines of Potential Significance:

Affirmation of physical love (as being good) within
responsible relationships.  Most intimate type of "Knowing"
= sexual love.  Rylaarsdam, The Theological Significance of
the Song of Songs.  It speaks to the order of creation
rather than to the order of Salvation (which is what happens
to it when it's interpreted allegorically).  It's not all
about salvation - but about the orders that God has created.
(the Order of Creation & [or verses] the Order of
Redemption).  8:6ff  Love is lifted up --> almost
personified "ahabah" (see "hakmah" in Proverbs, wisdom lit.)
Westermann, Elements of OT Theology, Biblical theology/time
lines/Order of Salvation (Salvation History) - vs - Order of
Creation/Atemporal/Blessings of living (being a creation of
God), eg., Abraham and Sarah via Salvation History are seen
as characters in a drama bringing about their role in S.H.;
via the Order of Creation - there is an intrinsic value to
their lives, as creations of God --> Blessing (Existential
Experience).

| SALVATION | BLESSING |
|---|---|
| Prophets | Wisdom |
| Exodus | Kingship |
| | David |
| NT: Redemption bringing about new Creation. | Creation groaning for redemption. |

## Ruth

The significance of Ruth being mentioned as a Moabitess:
* Moab (the country) mentioned 8 x
* Ruth 12 x, of the 12 Ruth is referred to as Ruth the
Moabitess 6 x
* Israel's attitude toward Moab (esp. Moabitesses):
Num 22 - Balak King of Moab hires Balaam to curse Israel,
Num 25:3 & Deut 4:3 - Baal of Peor,
Deut 23 not admitted into the Temple,
Kings 11 - one of Solomon's wives (vs 7) whose worship is
singled out as an abomination,
Neh 13:3 - curse recorded in Deut 23,
Neh 12:23 - the example of Solomon's sin was his marriage to
foreign women.

Setting: during the time of the Judges, during a time of
great famine.

Stephen Bertman, "The Semetrical Design in the Book of
Ruth," JBL vol 84, '65:

```
_[ Family History, chapter 1
|
|     | Naomi, Ruth, Orpah travel to Judah
|   _| ties of kinship
| | | Naomi & Ruth to Bethlehem
| | | Women of Bethlehem/Naomi---> Mara
| |
| |    Mention of Boaz
| |
| |    | Ruth asks Naomi to go to the field and glean, ch. 2
| |    | Boaz asks Ruth's identity
| |   _| Boaz asks Ruth's to stay in his field/ declares her
| | | | worthy to be blessed.
| | | | (Boaz instructs his men not to harm her)
| | | | Ruth returns to Naomi - tells her what happened
| | | | Naomi gives her counsel - what to do.
| | |
| | |
| | | | Ruth goes to the threshing floor, chapter 3
| | | | Boaz asks Ruth her identity
| | |_| Boaz declares her worthy of blessing
| |   | Ruth returns to Naomi - tells her what happened
| |   | Naomi gives her counsel
| |
| | | ties of kinship, chapter 4
| |_| Boaz and Ruth wed and have a son
|   | Women of Bethlehem - give Naomi's grandson a name
|
|_[ Family history.
```

Because she's a Moabitess!  Her faithfulness to YHWH turns
around a family and a nation. . .

vs. 8ff - unrequired familial love ("hesed"), confession of
faithfulness and devotion.  This parallels 4:1-12, Boaz
doesn't have to redeem Ruth, etc. . .
- Levirate marriage - "goel" - redeemer.
        In chapter 2, the gleaning YHWH's initiative, in
chapter 3, the threshing floor it's the family's initiative.
The Providence of God, it wasn't calculated or planned by
Ruth (she wasn't aware of Boaz), plus the unsuspected
appearance ofBoaz at the field [It seems that the character
that leads the way is the one with the least power to
perform the necessary function].  Boaz is kin, return trip
to the threshing floor - that was calculated by Naomi.
Chapter 4:13, YHWH's act explicity mentioned.

**Theological Reflections:**
    1) Moabitess - faithfulness crucial to the survival of
    Israel.
    2) Lesson of God's providence behind the scenes.
                            ###

1 Chronicles 1-9 Genealogies
            10-21 David
            22-29 Cult estb.
2 Chron   1-9 Solomon
            10-36 Kings of Judah
τα παραλειπομενων — "things left out" (LXX)
   Intregral part of Israel's self-knw. ↑

High   New Century Bible — 1 & 2 Chronicles   asking for its
         word        Ezra/Neh      own right — theological

| S/K | diff. | 1 & 2 C |
|---|---|---|

                    N. Kingdom not mentioned
               sordid Davidic Hist.
               Solomon's high places
2 Sam               rebellions
~~1 Kings~~ 5:1ff      1 Chron 11:1ff
          Saul's disobedience 10:13
2 Sam 23:8-39     1 C 11:11-47
   4 24           1 C 21

            17× numbers higher ⎱ Chron ⎰ ? Why
            5× " lower in Chron ⎰
     vs. 16
    Qumran material 10:16
  — Chronicles endorsement —
   inerrancy? — transmission       Relationship
   2 Chron odd ending       Chronicler & E/N
                 Japhet
genuine?     Messianism? — David & Solomon / Royal Trad.
                  Mosaic trad. primary ↑
Zech 4:10 / Ezra 6:9    them in / pretty guidance
400-315    /no expectation of kingship.

Chronicles

    The Chronicler desires a reuniting of Israel & Judah. Notion of ~~Kingdom~~ Kingship is big as opposed to Law. The Kingship is God's (I Chron. 17:14, 29:23). Law is big in Ezra and Neh. Yahweh is still the king of Judah.

    I Chron. 22:2-5) - We have the linkage between David and Solomon around the building of the Temple. Not found in Kings. Chronicles was written) around the time of the Rebuilding of the temple.

    I Chron. 29:1-5 - This theme is picked up again. We have a discussion of provisions for the temple.

    The Chronicler is concerned with fine tuning the scheme of Retribution Theol. He draws a close line between what someone does and what then happens to them:

    Monasseh, 687-642 Why does such a bad king have
                       such a long reign?

    Amon, 642-640
    Josiah, 640-609 Why does such a violent death
                    befall the best king? (Pharoah
                    Necco cuts him down in battle.)

    The Chronicler works at giving us more of an explanation as to why this all is.

    2 Chron. 33:10-13,) Monasseh repents. There is a book in the Apocrapha called "Prayer of Monasseh" which is also this prayer of repentance. There is the suggestion that the author of Kings was biased against Monasseh for having suffered personally under him, or that perhaps he was just completely unaware of these documents.

    2 Chron. 35:20-27, - It seems as if Josiah dies because he resists an oracle that comes to him through the words of Necco.

    The Chronicler is interested in straightening out things that are question marks in Sam. & Kings.

2ⁿᵈ Sam. 21:19   In the midst of a list of Philistine giants, we have Goliath killed by El Hanon, rather than by David. Why really killed him?

1ˢᵗ Chron. 20:5 , El Hanon slew Lami, brother of Goliath.

How does the Chronicler's history relate to what we call history?

Lonergan calls it "pre-critical history". It is artistic. It selects, orders, describes, persuades, convinces, and awakens the reader's senses and interests. It is ethical — places blame. It is explanatory with regard to current institutions and their relationship to institutions in other lands. It is apologetic in that it tends to refute calumnies of the past and of other peoples. It tries to redress false of tendentious accounts. It is prophetic. There is foresight about the future. "Those who don't know the past are doomed to repeat." (Santiani).

Edward Gibbons in the Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire doesn't stop himself from making judgements, moralizing, and drawing parallels to his own age. This is really the way history has always been done. Only in the last century or so, has it been different.

There is an exaggeration of numbers in Chronicles. This may simply be a way of adjusting for inflation.

Chronicles is trying to present an overall attitude or feel for a particular event. They present a "Kaloed" biography of David and Solomon. Critical things are left out. We are always left asking: What's the history? What's the reality?

Modern examples — Do we play up George Washington's negative features in our histories? Or, in a different vein, if writing about 19ᵗʰ Cent. Theology, would we necessarily discuss Albert Schweitzer's bigotry?

## Ezra - Nehemiah

These 2 books put forth a host of problems.
The readings lay out a lot of the questions.
Focus on that.

| 1 & 2 Chron. | Ez.-Neh. |
|---|---|
| David | Moses |
| Kingship | Law |
| Apocalyptic | Suggests more continuous relationship with future |

In exile we have lost both the monarchy and the cult. This has not changed too substantially by the start of Ezra where Cyrus makes his decree allowing them to return and build their 2nd Temple.

Ez. 3:10-13
Neh. 9:6-37

We have a prayer of confession by the people. It begins with God as Creator and follows with a narrative of the history of the people and their relationship with God.

Apocalyptic leads us to look towards the future as it unfolds. Haggai is one. Hag. 2:3

The other response is to find some way of drawing upon the past. It is a process of looking at who we were to try to determine who we could be.

The Temple was rebuilt in stages. People link steps with their past. Cyrus releases old temple vessels from the Persian empire to be placed into the 2nd Temple. They are striving to find continuity in their worship tradition.

Ez.- Neh. focuses on Torah - a body of revealed authoritative instruction or law.

Finish these 2 Bks. on Mon.

Final Exam

It will cover everything after Psalms.
Read L.,H.,B. very carefully. The Ez.-Neh.
material is very full in there. Take notes
on the book for yourself - digest thoroughly.
Combine this with your class notes, but...
major emphasis will be on L.,H.,B.'s dis-
cussions.
It will be an essay with some choices.

3-4-85    WRITINGS


EZRA-NEH → steering a steady course
Daniel — surprising new act of God
① sanity & God's will
② faithful to LAW — trying times
③ thrust at of the royal materials
CHRON/EZRA } (kingship → kingship of God) ARAMAIC
LANGUAGE )

→ John the Baptist (apocalyptic)
   the kingdom of God is at hand


TORAH piety
Chron → David/ie !
EZRA → the LAW !
Ezra 7:10, 12-25-26   Scribe   law of Moses = study—
                              study it out, & book !
Neh. 8:1ff   Book of the Law of Moses
         → had it been done since Joshua (Succoth-
Tabernacles)
         Patterning of the law → close to personal devotion
         Ps 119) scribing
Scribes → seeking of at the law "darash"
   (Midrash — what you get when you "darash")
Sir. 38: vocations ... prayer is their work,
      Scribe ... "effective in his community
   all other learning is sub- to all other
   learning —
   negative — kingship - not autonomous after Exile [leadership]
         → Temple - wholistic solution to trouble
            dispersed people - Some Jews never
            ventured to temple

- Pluralism: diversity - divisions in the house - how
   to use the Temple - no room for personal
   worship

                People of the Book
Sense of Identity & } in the book    / Indicative
   Direction        )    Narrative - haggadah - hagad
                         Precepts - halakah - halk - to walk
   Preserve Israel Distinctiveness Imperative.
   - Dietary laws
   - Sabbath observance
   - Circumcision

   Law takes of Cosmic dimensions  1st of 7 things
      created before the World
   scribe         Temple         Sacrifice / Ceremony
      ↓              ↓                 ↓
   Rabbi         Synagogue      Prayer / Reading of Torah

        Qumran                      Pharisees
   Spirit of intense expectation   Prepare to interface w/ Evil world
   Purity - final battle twd        guidance of Halakah - Oppress
   _____ / Script -        (persever).
   book & class of Future of Messiah
   (John the Baptist) <————> (Jesus)

   | From Destruction of the Temple to Christ -
   |  Jewish home of title  ← a abandoned architecture
   | of Judaism - period of then options (hermeneutics) Eg.
   |  Judaism (Pharisaism) to Christianity ... )
   |  options / turmoil / change

what holds the writings together?
good luck!

( Jamma 90 A.D. reaction against )
heretics

Authority (w/) the community

Esther/Daniel
- Jews enduring in the foreign court -

eg. Joseph/intertestamental Judith/Tobith
motif in diaspora situation.

Esther/
law → dat (persian loan word Torah tingly
pronouncement)
when laws of the Medes & Persians conflict w/ the laws of YHWS
3:8  loyalty in _____ another place.
4:3  wisdom theme - turning around
Purim - change of your Fates

8:16-17  ____ turning of Fates.
No interruption of history by un-revealed
_____ presence --- or in Daniel.

Daniel

✓ # in Foreign court 1-6
✓ Visions → 7-12

1: dietary law
2. Neb. dream
3. Neb. sets up Image
4. Madness of Neb.
5. Belshazzar judgt
6. Darius the Mede — Daniel & the Lions den.
7. Daniel's vision of 4 world empires.

Abs.    1. Intro                          Reversal of Roles.
        2. ᵈ – Vision of 4 kings
        3. Rescue from Furnace
Drama   4 ——— Neb
        5 —— Belshazzar
        6 —— Rescue  Lions  (Reversal)
        7. Vision of 4 kings
Abs.    8
        9          ( Prov. 11=8; — Haman hung on his
        10                         own gallows
        11          Ps 57-5-7 — Lions pit & Daniel.
        12

        Question: How much history are we
                  dealing w/?
        Sounds like it.

Notes on Bernhard W. Anderson's <u>Out of the Depths: The Psalms</u>
<u>Speak for Us Today.</u> (Beginning in chapter 3: the Laments)
*** CHAPTER 3: THE TRIALS OF FAITH (Laments)

    "Israel's praise was evoked by the action of the God who
turned to a band of oppressed slaves and in a marvelous way
opened to them a new possibility of life." Not on "glittering
generalities" about God's nature but the Holy God that is there.
(63)
    "This portrayal of Israel in the wilderness was not so much
a recital of ancient history as much a mirror in which the people
found its own history with God reflected." (64)

THE LITERATURE OF LAMENT

    "As has been noted, laments far outnumber any other kind of
songs in the Psalter. It is striking that the laments found in
Jeremiah's confessions, the Book of Job, and Lamentations have
the same general form as the laments found in the Psalter. This
suggests that these writers were following an accepted literary
convention, as poets frequently do in our Western culture." (66)
    Pattern used by Israel's neighbors — though in a
Polytheistic setting (coupled with a note of having to use magic
or "cajole" god into acting on ones behalf)  Israel knew YHWH's
"hesed" (covenant loyalty) as the foundation of their trust.
    "Nevertheless, the People of God finds itself again and
again in the interim between God's promise and the fulfillment of
the promise. That interim is the time when faith is put to the
test; for there are no unambiguous proofs that God has spoken and
that God is in control of the human situation. This is the
problem with which God's people wrestle throughout the Old
Testament period -- and beyond." (68)

THE SITUATION OF THE LAMENT

Community Laments:
12; 44; 58; 60; 74; 79; 80; 83; 85; 89:38-51; 90; 94; 123; 126;
129; 137.

Individual Laments
3; 4; 5; 7; 9-10; 13; 14 [same as 53]; 17; 22; 25; 26; 27:7-14;
28; 31; 35; 36; 39; 40:12-17; 41; 42-43; 52; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57;
59; 61; 63; 64; 69; 70; 71; 77; 86; 88; 89:38-51; 109; 120; 139;
140; 141; 142.

    "For the most part . . . the community laments are lacking
in references to concrete historical situations. The language is
so general that psalms of this type could be used on various
occasions, especially the cultic 'fast' held in a time of crisis.
Various passages in the OT allude to times of community mourning
and soul-searching (eg., Judges 20:26; 1 Kings 21:9-12; 2 Chron
20:3-19)." (71)

Pattern of Community Lament (using Joel chapter 2)
A.    Call to Repentance (2:12-16)
B:    Summons to Prepare for a Fast (15-16)
C.    The People's Lament (17)
d.    The Oracle of Salvation (19-27)


THE FORM OF THE LAMENT

A.    Address to God
B.    Complaint
C.    Confession of Trust
D.    Petition
E.    Words of Assurance
F.    Vow of Praise.

THE PROBLEM OF THE "ENEMIES" IN THE PSALMS

        No one interpretation is satisfactory - we don't know who
these enemies are.  "In the individual laments . .  we can never
be sure what the trouble is, for the psalmists resort to
picturesque language to describe the human condition." (83)

THE CRY FOR VINDICATION
        "More problematical is the fact that these psalmists ---
like the prophet Jeremiah in his laments (see especially Jer.
20:7-13)-- cry out to God for vindication and even pray for
vengeance against the enemies, whoever they are." (87) The
"Imprecatory" or "cursing" psalms.  (Ps. 35; 59; 69; 70; 109;
137; 140 )
*** Psalms written out of the deep expressions of the human heart
(which includes feelings of anger and bitterness) therefore we
find these sentiments expressed in the Psalms "The Christian
community cannot automatically join in this psalm (137).  Yet we
must remind ourselves that Psalm 137 has found many parallels in
modern life---for instance, during World War II when the pride of
France was violated by Hitler's armies, or when brave little
Finland was overrun by Russian forces.  The question is whether
these all too human cries have a place in our speech to God."
(89) Psalmist's views these enemies as God's enemies also...
THE VENGEANCE THAT IS GOD'S

*** negative connotation of the word. "avenge" or "vengeance" in
English.  Hebrew OT meaning = God upholding justice within His
covenant relationship with Israel (or relationship as Creator to
his creation).  OT context psalmist's wanted justice now not in
an unclear After-Life, with the NT the picture is cleared up and
we do get retribution (in the Here-After).

PSALMS OF PENITENCE

        "The cry 'Miserere' ('Have mercy'), which resounds through
the music and liturgy of Christian tradition, is the opening
exclamation of Psalm 51, one of the pears of the Psalter." (94)

A.    Address
B.    Complaint

C. Petition
D. Vow of Praise


## THE PARADOX OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

righteousness = right relationship to God (not moral perfection)

## EXPOSTULATION WITH GOD

"These poignant human outcries express a faith that dares to question and even wrestle with God in situations of suffering and distress. Perhaps there is something therapeutic in prayer of this kind." (103/4) Daring God to act, in view of his previous acts.

## *** CHAPTER 4: SINGING A NEW SONG (SONGS OF THANKSGIVING)

Community Songs of Thanksgiving:
65; 67; 75; 107; 124; 136.

Individual Songs of Thanksgiving:
18; 21; 30; 32; 34; 40:1-11; 66:13-20; 92; 103; 108; 116; 118; 138.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE SONG OF THANKSGIVING

A. Introduction
(some indication of the worshiper's intention to give thanks to God)
B. Main Section: Narration of the Psalmist's Experience
1. Portrayal of the distress that the supplicant once experienced
2. The supplicant's cry for help
3. The deliverance
C. Conclusion.
(worshiper again testifies to YHWH, a prayer for future help, etc.)

## DELIVERANCE FROM THE POWER OF DEATH

"Death brings about a decrease in the vitality of the individual. Death's power is felt in the midst of life to the degree that one experiences any weakening of personal vitality through illness, handicap, imprisonment, attack from enemies or advancing old age." (122) Imperialism of Death --- encroachment of the ancient waters of Chaos ....

"When a person is separated from a community wherein people remember and celebrate the goodness of God, life ebbs to the vanishing point. On the other hand, when a person is restored to a meaningful place in the believing and worshiping community, when one's relationship to God and fellow human beings is renewed, then it is possible for life to begin again and for the person to join in the singing of praises with the whole 'nefesh,'

or being." (127)

## CROWNED WITH LOVE AND MERCY

(Looking at Psalm 103)  "The psalm falls into three parts, on the scheme of concentric circles--each dealing with the self, the community, and the cosmos respectively." (128)
1.   First part (103: 3-5) "Nefesh" referred to as "You", psalmist praises God out of personal thanksgiving.
2.   Second part (103: 6-18) "us" "our" used (thoughts of community) "The same 'amazing grace' (hesed) has been evident in Israel's history, right back to the beginning when YHWH 'made known his ways to Moses, his acts to the people of Israel.'" (128)
3.   Third part (19-22) "Every creature in heaven and earth is summoned to join in the anthem which originates in the life of a solitary person." (129)

## THE OLD TESTAMENT LOVE OF LIFE

"The psalms . . . bear witness to the fundamental goodness of life as God has given it to us." (130)

## *** CHAPTER 5: THE WONDER OF GOD'S CREATION (HYMNS of PRAISE)

### THE FORM AND SETTING OF THE HYMN

"The hymn (Hebrew, 'tehillah') is concisely defined as 'the song which extols the glory and greatness of YHWH as it is revealed in nature and history, and particularly in Israel's history.'" (134/5)

A.   Introduction: Call to Worship
B.   Main Section: The Motive for Praise
C.   Recapitulation

I.   Hymns to God, Who Created (Redeemed) Israel:
     66:1-12; 100; 111; 114; 149.
II.  Hymns to God, Who Created the World:
     8; 19:1-6; 95:1-7a; 104; 148.
III. Hymns to the Creator and the Ruler of History:
     33; 103; 113; 117; 145; 146; 147.

### THE NAME OF GOD

"In the ancient Israelite world, as in some societies today, the question of the name was a supremely important issue . . . Among the Israelites the name was understood to be the expression of the nature or identity of a person . . .  A person's name designates the self that has a particular history, a unique life story.  To be introduced to a person by name, if the introduction leads into any depth of relationship, is to perceive and, to some degree, to enter into the life story of the person who bears the name. (141)
"The name of God, then, signifies the Holy God who turns personally to the people, whose self (or identity) is disclosed

in the people's historical experience.  It is significant, then,
that an ancient formula for the act of worship is 'to call upon
the name of YHWH.'" (143)

THE HEAVENS ARE TELLING THE GLORY OF GOD

     "It is questionable whether the psalmist means to say that
the heavens reveal God.  The celestial phenomena display God's
glory and praise the Creator by functioning in the ordered whole,
but they do not disclose who God is or God's purpose.  There is a
kind of knowledge of God available to human beings through
contemplating the works of creation: knowledge of God's 'eternal
power and deity,' as Paul observes in Romans 1:19-20; but it is
not the saving knowledge of God's will and relationship which
answers the psalmist's question: 'What are human beings that you
remember them?' (Ps 8:4)" (147)

GOD WHO CREATED A PEOPLE

     "To understand Israel's creation faith sympathetically it is
best to start with psalms that praise YHWH as the God who created
a people out of the historical nothingness of slavery and gave
them a future and a vocation." (148)

THE MAJESTIC NAME

     "Psalm 8 deals with two inseparably related questions: the
question of who God is, and the question of the role of human
beings in God's creation." (153) Man= just a little lower than
'Elohim', but given a status of dominion (risky) [separation of
creation and divinity resulted in birth of Science . . .]

CREATION AND THE THREAT OF CHAOS (Psalm 104)

                    "The 'Order' of Creation

Strophe i          In pictorial language the poet speaks of God's
                   'stretching out' the heavens and laying the
                   foundation of the heavenly palace on the cosmic
                   ocean above the firmament. (Ps104:2-4/Gen1:6-8)

Strophe ii         God has firmly established the earth by putting
                   the rebellious waters of chaos to flight and
                   establishing bounds for them so that chaos would
                   not engulf the earth. (Ps104:5-9/Gen1:9-10)

Strophe iii        The chaotic water, having been tamed, were
                   converted to beneficial use.  The waters gush up
                   from underground springs and pour down in rain
                   from the sky. (Ps104:10-13/implied Gen1:6-10)
Strophe iv         As a result, vegetation flourishes, which makes
                   life possible for birds, beasts, and human being.
                   (Ps104:14-18/Gen1:11-12)

Strophe v          God created the moon and the sun to mark the
                   rhythm of seasons and of day and night, so that
                   beasts may seek food during the darkness and human

beings may perform their work in daylight.
(Ps104:19-23/Gen1:14-18)

Strophe vi   The poet reflects upon the remnant of watery
      chaos: the sea, which teems with creatures great
      and small.  Leviathan is no longer the dreaded
      monster of chaos, but is God's 'plaything' (cf.
      Job 41:5). (Ps104:24-25/Gen 1:20-22)

Strophe vii   The dependence of human beings and animals upon
      God, their Creator, for life. (Ps 104:27-30/Gen
      1:24-30)." (158)

"In this psalm the emphasis falls upon 'creatio continua.'
Creation is not just an event that occurred in the beginning but
is God's continuing activity of sustaining creatures and holding
everything in being.  The cosmos is not a self-existent whole,
perpetuated through its own internally operating dynamic.  On the
contrary, the whole order of being is radically dependent on God,
the Creator." (160)

PRAISE TO YAHWEH FROM THE ENDS OF THE EARTH

"The use of mythopoeic imagery which expresses the depth
dimension of human existence shows that there is a universalism
in Israel's worship of Yahweh.  The psalmist's praise of Yahweh
does not lead to a theological confinement with Israel's history
but, rather, to a spacious view that embraces all peoples and the
whole cosmos." (161)

## *** CHAPTER 6: BE STILL AND KNOW (Festival Songs & Liturgies)

LITURGIES OF THE TRIBAL FEDERATION

These liturgies date back before the Davidic Dynasty to the
three feasts: Festival of Unleavened Bread (the Passover), the
Festival of First Fruits (Weeks/Pentecost), and the Festival of
Ingathering (Tabernacles).
"Even in a very early period, before the time of David, the
Israelites seem to have celebrated this festival as a time for
renewing the covenant with Yahweh."(169)
covenant renewal service:
1. The call to assembly (Josh 24:1)
2. Historical prologue: a confessional summary of YHWH's deeds
  of deliverance. (Josh 24:2-13)
3. Call to decision for or against YHWH. (Josh 24:14-22)
4. Purification: removal of foreign gods (Josh 24: 23-24)
5. The renewal of the Covenant (Josh 24:25)
6. The reading of the covenant law (Josh 24:25-26)
7. A ceremony of sanctions: the blessings and the curses (see
  Deut 27:11-26; Josh 8:30-35)
8. The dismissal of the congregation (Josh 24:28).

Covenant Renewal Liturgies:
50; 81.

# THE FESTIVAL OF ZION

"The theme of the kingdom (kingship) of God, which was the burden of Jesus' preaching according to early gospel tradition (MK 1:14-15), is deeply rooted in Israel's history of worship. going back to a time long before Israel had an earthly king." (172/3)

Enthronement Psalms:
29; 47; 93; 95; 96; 97; 98; 99.

Enthronement custom of YHWH at New Year festival (per. Mowinckel)

## ENTHRONED OVER THE POWERS OF CHAOS

"These psalms show how Israel appropriated the mythical imagery of the ancient world and converted it to the praise of YHWH, the King of Israel and of the cosmos. The ancient myth of the Creator's victory over the powers of chaos, symbolized by 'the deep,' 'the flood,' 'the sea,' is used poetically to express the faith that no powers--- whether historical enemies, evil, death, or anything else in creation--- can subvert God rule." (177)

## THE PROMISES OF GRACE TO DAVID

"Fundamentally the covenant is unconditional---grounded on God's faithful promises and not upon the fallible actions of human beings or the contingencies of the future. . . . The fall festival in Jerusalem, then, acquired a special character owing to the celebration of the simultaneous founding of the Jerusalem sanctuary and the Davidic dynasty." (183)

Ps. 78; 132; 89.

## THE ANOINTED ONE

Royal Psalms:
2; 18; 20; 21; 45; 72; 101; 110; 144:1-11.

"Israel lived in an environment in which the king's authority was based upon a mythology that made him the representative and mediator of the divine order of the cosmos. . Israel, however, did not adopt the mythical view of king without modification. . . . The institution of kingship in Israel was connected with Israel's sacred history, that is, the formation of Israel as the People of God. The raising up of David was a decisive act of YHWH in Israel's historical pilgrimage." (186/7)
No divinity for the king.....

## THE SON OF GOD (Ps 2)

A.    Preparation (Ps. 2:1-3)
B.    Installation (4-6)
C.    Legitimation (7-9)
D.    Ultimatum (10-11)

AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD (Psalm 110)

"The portrayal of the king does not conform to any specific
king of the house of David, not even David himself.  Rather, it
depicts the type of the true king who perfectly combines power
and goodness---a historically rare, if not impossible,
combination!  . . . After the collapse of the Davidic monarchy in
587 B.C. these psalms were interpreted to refer to the 'Anointed
One' (Messiah) of the future, who would come in the fullness of
time to rule over God's kingdom on earth." (191)

THE CITY OF GOD

Songs of Zion:
46; 48; 76; 84; 87; 121; 122.

"The songs of Zion presuppose a major tenet of Davidic
covenant theology: YHWH has chosen Zion as the place of the
divine presence." (193)  Root of God's ecumenical presence,
future all will go to Zion to worship God  (Isa 2:2-4)

PILGRIM PSALMS

"In view of what has been said, it is understandable that
some Psalms express an intense longing ot make a pilgrimage to
the Temple of Jerusalem." (195)
"We should not suppose the psalmists believed that God was
present in the Temple in the sense that the earthly temple was
literally the divine dwelling . . .   The problem of the
'transcendence' and 'imminence' of God, to use philosophical
language, was dealt with by saying that YHWH, the Holy God,
causes the divine name to be in the sanctuary.  The name,
according to the view that prevails in the book of Deuteronomy
and material edited from a Deuteronomic point of view, is YHWH's
alter ego, or 'other self.'" (196)

OUR REFUGE AND STRENGTH
"In the songs of Zion and many other psalms in the Psalter
the Temple of Jerusalem is regarded as a bulwark of security
precisely because it is the place where God is in the midst of
the people . . ."(178)
"In the Psalter the theme of YHWH's dwelling in Zion
receives its profoundest treatment in Psalm 46, one of the best
known Psalms, thanks in part to Martin Luther, who found in the
psalm the keynote for his hymn of the Reformation, 'A Mighty
Fortress Is Our God.'  In the spirit of Isaiah of Jerusalem, the
psalmist glorifies Zion for the purpose of announcing the human
confidence is grounded in the transcended sovereignty of God,
whose cosmic rule is known and celebrated in Zion." (199)
Liturgies: Psalms 15; 68; 82; 115; 134.

### *** CHAPTER 7: LIKE A TREE PLANTED BY WATERS
(Songs of Trust and Meditation)

"The editors of this collection also had in mind the use of
the psalms for religious education and spiritual sustenance ---

as is evident from the position at the beginning of the Psalter of two psalms, one dealing with the study of the Torah (law) and the other with the Messiah (Ps. 1 & 2)." (203)

Synagogue ---> Psalms detached from original cultic situations became "Spiritual songs."

SPIRITUAL SONGS (Trust)
11;16; 23; 27:1-6; 62; 63; 91; 121; 125; 131.

THE SHEPHERD'S PSALM (23)

"My Host and Shepherd" pastoral setting, mature trust or experience.

THE PROTECTING SHADOW (91)

A.    Refuge in God (91:1-2)
B.    Instruction in Faith (91:3-13)
C.    Divine Oracle (91:14-16)

Simple trust not magical insurance.

MEDITATIONS ON THE GOOD LIFE

Wisdom Psalm: 36; 37; 49; 73; 78; 112; 127; 128; 133.

elements of:
1.    Sharp contrast between the righteous and the wicked.
2.    Advice about conduct that results in either welfare or misfortune.
3.    The premise "the fear of YHWH is the beginning of wisdom."
4.    Comparisons and admonitions that are used to exhort one to good conduct.
5.    Alphabetical acrostic pattern.
6.    "Better than" sayings.
7.    The address "my son" customary in wisdom schools.
8.    The approving word "blessed."

Torah Psalms: 1; 19: 7-14; 119.

"The Hebrew word 'Torah' is rich with meaning. It may refer to the story of YHWH's actions to create a people and guide them into the future, as in the storytelling psalms; or it may refer to the obligations (i.e., precepts, commandments) that shape the lifestyle of a people who tell and retell the story." (220)
Haggadah and Halakah.

Example of Alphabetical Acrostic Psalms:
9/10 Individual lament
25        "            "
34        "            song of Thanksgiving
37    Wisdom Psalm
111   Hymn
112   Wisdom Psalm
119   Torah Psalm
145   Hymn

## THE ENIGMAS OF LIFE

"In wisdom circles, represented, for instance, by the book of Ecclesiastes, sages become pessimistic about the ability of human wisdom to penetrate the divine 'secret' of the creation and to know the will of the Creator.  However, the wisdom psalms of the Psalter are more optimistic, and the main reason for this is their conviction that God has revealed in the Torah the precepts that enable one to live in harmony with the Creator's will." (223/4)

Confidence in God is challenged by reality and we need God's grace to carry us through and give us new understanding (see Ps. 73).

## A HEART OF WISDOM (PS 90)

A.  Address to God (1-6)
B.  Lament in Distress (7-10)
C.  Prayer for Help (13-17)

"Teach us to count how few days we have, and so gain wisdom of heart." (vs. 12)

## HUMAN GRANDEUR AND MISERY

"For my sake the world was created," versus "I am but dust and ashes." (Heb. 'adamah, soil)

## READING THE PSALMS IN THE CHRIST CONTEXT

"Today we can say with greater clarity that the whole history of Israel, from the oppression in Egypt and on, was a passion story in which Israel experienced the reality of God in the midst of suffering, a suffering which --- as the prophet Second Isaiah perceived --- was borne vicariously in order that the nations and the whole creation might rejoice in the God who is Creator and Lord.  The Psalms show, as Christoph Barth observes, that 'Jesus and Israel belong together, and that their respective histories cannot be understood apart from each other.'" (231/2)

Psalm 73: "Nevertheless, I am continually with Thee."

### ###

## LAMENTATIONS (pp. 617-623)

INTRO:
5 chapters, Temple destruction (586 BC)
3rd among the 5 scrolls (Megilloth) - mid-July (Ninth of Ab) to
mourn for the destruction of Jeru (via Neb. & Titus)

Date & Authorship:
586-530, chapters 1-4 eye-witness (?), ch 5 reflects captivity
Anonymous, trad--> Jeremiah (1) eye-witness - described in minute
detail (2) theologians grasp of the causes (3) poet of great
skill (4) patriot
      Chronicler--> Jere mourns over Josiah's death (2 Chr 35:25)

### POETIC STYLE

Acrostic Form: (1-4)
1 & 2 :  22 verses, 3 lines each, 1st word alphebetic progression
4:          "  "       2 "    "    "    "     "          "
3:     66 "    3 verse clusters, 1st word of each verse
    within the cluster.
5:     22 verses, 1 line each (not an acrostic).

Reason:
1.    expression of full anguish - covered from "aleph" to "tau"
(A to Z)
2.    artistic constraints . . . avoids degenerating to howling
etc.

Dirges
"How (could it be)!" chapters 1-2,4 not funeral song only,
dramatic contrast.

Individual & Communal Complaint
alternates with Dirges (Individual ch 3, Communal ch 5), akin to
Psalms and Jeremiah (Lament)

Individual:
Judgement --> 3rd person (vv 1-18)
God --------> 2nd person (vv 55-66)
(1)    description of suffering (figurative)
(2)    plea for relief
(3)    expression of trust
(4)    certanity of being heard
(5)    plea for vengence

Commmunal ---> focuses on poignant description of suffering

| Dirge | Lament |
|---|---|
| addressed to mourners | addressed to God |
| describes the sin that responsible | confesses sin |

## THEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION

Questioned Neb's overthrow of Jeru
(1)   Righteous ruler (Josiah) ---> blessing to God's people?
(2)   Zion invoilable?

Catharsis - hope
height of favor to depth of dispair?
Lamentations weaves:
(1) the prophet's insights re: judgement & grace of cov. Lord
(2) the priest's liturgical cries of contrition & hope
(3) the wise man's questions re: the mystery of suffering

## WISDOM LITERATURE (pp 533-546)

INTRO:
        Observations of life; rules fro success and happiness
Visier Ptah-hotep (2450 BC)
King Meri-ka-re (2180 BC)
        |
        V
Biblical Wisdom Lit 10th century (long tradition)

### TYPES OF WISDOM LITERATURE

2 types:
(1)     proverbial wisdom: short, pithy rules of life (VA)
(2)     contemplative/speculative wisdom: observations, problems of
existence and suffering (VQ)

### Proverbial Wisdom

        educated class use of proverbial sayings, turn of phrase,
"kings used wisdom techniques in official communiques (1Kgs
20:11).  Emphasis on oral not written observations.  Connection
with the cultic (magical) arts ----> Mesopotamia, someone who gets
what he wants from the gods
        Egyptian (paragraph form) didactic sayings, "instructions"
(should be classed among precepts and admonitions rather than
proverbs),  practical/ethical/religious nature of Near Eastern
W.L. (see Pro 1-9).  Also short sayings (common in Sumerian,
Babylonian and Assyrian texts).  Distinction between popular
sayings and proverb is not easy to know.  Concrete nature, little
elaberation:  English "in union is strength," Arabic "two dogs
killed a lion"; "familiarity breeds contempt," Jewish "the poor
man hungers and knows it not."
        Archbishop R.C. Trench on what makes a successful proverb:
(1)     brevity
(2)     intelligibility (easily understood)
(3)     flavor (twist, pungent proverbs stick)
(4)     popularity (repeated often)

### Speculative Wisdom

The Universal Questions about life . . . Babylonian Job,
Babylonian Theodicy, Babylonian Dialogue of Pessimism, reflects
their suspicions re: their fickled gods and who's responsible for
this mess (a question not answered).

### SCOPE OF BIBLICAL WISDOM LITERATURE

### Role of Wise Men

        From the beginning to prepare each generation, people of
renown wisdom . . . . Solomon (Egyptian influence), separate
class ?  Hezekiah patron of, Jeremiah blames them along with the
prophets (the three classes: prophet, priest, wise man).  To
dispense advice in a needed moment, and to contemplate the issues
of life (closest Hebrews came to Greek Philosophy -- thought
notably different)

## Characteristics of Biblical Wisdom

Internation character ----> thus Israel's WL rather
Individualistic (contrast with Prophets' national and corporate
religious life emphasis), not much mention of covenant, election
from Egypt, the day of the Lord , etc.  BUT via Job Ecc Prov --->
Wisdom begins from fear of God, Wisdom a gift from God . . .

## Biblical Wisdom Writings

Job, Eccl, Prov, parts of Psalms (Song of Songs and Lamentation,
influenced by but . . . ).  instruction & dealing with the issues
of life.

NT: Christ, parables, posing question, "greater than
Solomon" - James, "wisdom from God"

<u>PROVERBS (pp 547-559)</u>

INTRO: collections of collections "masal" (like)
comparison & pithy sayings - long discourses - object lesson.

PURPOSE

guidebook for successful living. Apply Israel's covenant faith (though not mentioned directly) " the prime mission ... is to spell out strikingly, memorably, & concisely just what it means to be fully at God's disposal"

CONTENTS

Importance of Wisdom (1:7-9:18) oral instruction - purpose: contrast between the results of seeking of God's wisdom & those of a life of folly. religious & practical concepts. wisdom begins w/ fear of YHWH, folly deliberate distain for YHWH's principles (not just ignorance) warning re: crimes of violence, rash pledges, laziness, dishonesty & sexual immorality - spiritual implications. → wisdom personified chapt 8 sophia & logos
authorship? date 600 BC? Dating any length of wisdom speeches invalid - long an pre date Solomon (Egyptian)

Proverbs of Solomon (10:1-22:16) 375 proverbs oldest section
Solomonic renaissance - increase km of near eastern wisdom light on egyptian influence & Solomon's claimed wisdom novelly 2 (lines) stichs (chs. 10-15) antithetical "but" contrast way of righteousness (wise) & wickedness (folly) 16-22 synthetic parallelism "the completes" & synonomous "echos"

very practical

Words of the Wise (22:17-24:23) proverbs longer than previous section (2 or more verses in length); synonomous & synthetic prominent - admonition or exhortation characteristic (teacher's authority)

22:17-23:11 poss remarkable resemblance to a section of the Egyptian proverbs of Amenemope (1000 BC)

Additional Sayings (24:23-34) mix of short proverbs & longer warnings
sense of social/moral responsibility evident

onomatop??

Proverbs of Solomon Copied by Hezekiah's Men (25:1-29:27)
resemblence to 10:1-22:16 - though length tends to vary
comparison big - Antithetical less frequent - no reason to
doubt Solomonic origin - Hezekiah patron of w.l. perhaps ...
reflects some of the turmoil of 8th century - but allusion to kings
of officials general enough to ?/? the Solomonic period

Words of Agur (30:1-33)
defies I.D. - tribe massa - descendant of Ishmael (Edomite) Inter-
national character of Proverbs; vrs 2-4 confirming skeptic & knowing
God & universal role - chides wise men to clear up his ignorance, short
of argument - reaffirms the truthfulness of God's word & security in him.
prayer about real needs & too much or too little. // observation (vv 10ff) numerical
pattern x, x+1

Words of Lemuel (31:1-9) king of massa otherwise unknown - mother's advice
to him re: office. warnings to avoid excesses w/ women & wine, encourages
him re: the poor.

Description of a Virtuous Wife (31:10-31) alphabet acrostic ???
way of painting a comprehensive picture. portrait of
industrious, competent conscientious, pious woman good conclusion
to book that teaches 'the nature & importance of a life lived in
obedience to God in every detail,

Limits of Wisdom generalizations! Absolute form (literary) not to be
applied indiscriminately. knowing the right time to use a proverb is
part of being wise (25:11) - see Job & Ecclesiastes
know the limits leave room for God - they're not magical
incantations.

Pro. 25:1 - not before Hezekiah's time (716-686) ch. 10-22; 5th century?
completed.

commentary on the law of love - O.T. prep for messiah !

<u>JOB (pp 560-585)</u>

INTRO: "Have you consider my servant Job?" 42 chs § suffering.

ʾiyyôb

NAME AND PLACE IN CANON

Job = "Where is my father" Albright § — ancient sufferer — historical?
att.:                                                    (1350 BC Amarna letters
(1) "be an enemy" Heb ʾyb                      2000 BC Egyptian Execration texts
(2) "one who repents" - Arabic ʾwb

Canonicity not questioned; position var — linked w/ Ps & Pr (Heb), LXX.
varies? English = Heb, Syriac Bible between Pentateuch & Joshua (Job's
                                                                    antiquity).

BACKGROUND

Date ? prose ancient 1) no priesthood or shrine (2) possession count in livestock
(3) land subject to raids (4) 140 yr. lifespan = patriarchal trad / (5) epic character in
prose = Gen & Ugaritic lit. (6) cited by Ezekiel connection w/ Noah & Ugaritic Daniel.
poetry 7th century — Jere /Isa/ Prov. 8 etc. = later; no reason for Exilic Post-Exilic
                                            [dating]

Near Eastern Parallels
righteous sufferers —
just shows that these questions were being asked. → concerns ultimate issues; not true parallel —

Authorship anonymous (1) empathy w/ Job = sufferer Also (2) experience —
Job's w. encounter w/ YHWH (3) thoroughly kind WL - technics & trad per-
lit. devices & there (4) suffering contrary to retrib theo. (5) Israelite - view of divine
nature, etc (6) OZ because of ancient story & universal nature of problem (7) desire
to share story & - to better help
others in suffering

STRUCTURE

Movement of the Book    Prologue chs 1-2
drama on a              Job's lament        3
double stage            Dialogue           4-27
heaven § earth          Poem on Wisdom     28
(1) contrast            Job's complaint    29-31
   chs. 1-2             Elihu speeches     32-37
                        YHWH speeches      38-42:6
(2) A fate worse        Epilogue           42:7-17
than death: Job's despairing God's silence — hyperbole — Job's full humanity
contrast to Job of prologue (controlled piety). ∴ God an enemy —
who else could have done this

(3) A comfort more painful than censure: 3 accusers + one defender
   Eliphaz - gentle mystic         interpersonal character of suffering
   Bildad - firm traditionalist    - understanding = bearable, rejection =
   Zophar - rash dogmatist.        intolerable )
gap under at the end, the
in the beginning              "Can a mortal me be righteous
                               before God."

(4) An interlude w/ a message: musing on the mystery of wisdom → either transition between sections — unanswered question to God

(5) A protest against heaven: Job's calamitous fall & demonstrated innocence.

(6) A rebuke & a lesson: Elihu's attempt to correct both Job & his friends — name "he is god" — inserted later? Important to movement of the book: reviewing Job's argument & repeating friends answers; prep for God limits of human wisdom — doesn't know about God & self.

(7) A voice that silences debate: YHWH's revelation of power & glory (a) endless rhetorical questions (b) wonder of creation = God's sovereignty (c) power of God to Job (f) implied re: God (d) doesn't answer Job (e) confirms Job's fear & pleasing (f) repetition = heighten intensity silences Job

(8)

<u>Unity of the Book</u>

(1) relationship between prose & poetry

(2) 3rd dialogue cycle

(3) poem on wisdom

(4) Yahweh's second speech

(5) speeches of Elihu

Genre

(1) complaint & reconciliation

(2) psalm-like laments

(3) legal disputation

(4) school lecture

(5) philosophy debate

(6) Greek tragedy

(7) ironic comedy

(8) Parable

(9) Epic meeting

## Literary Characteristics

(1) metaphors & similes

(2) Description & creation

(3) Quotations

## Forms

(1) prose narrative

(2) laments (over birth)

(3) complaint

(4) hymn celebrates act / attributes of God

(5) vision of Eliphaz

(6) Personal observations

(7) Proverbs

(8) Rhetorical questions

(9) Onomastica catalogues of nature phenomenon

(10) wisdom forms (a) blessed ... (h) x x + 1 (c) summary appraisal (d) socratic overstatement (e) tau wish

(11) Eliphaz prophetic judgment

## THEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION

Freedom of God

Testing of Satan

Strength for Suffering

## ECCLESIASTES (pp 586-600)
### NAME


PLACE IN CANON


AUTHOR AND DATE


THEME AND CONTENTS

Theme


Structure

Unity

## LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS
Reflections

Proverbs

Rhetorical Questions

Allegory

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO BIBLICAL THEOLOGY
Freedom of God and Limits of Wisdom

(1)

(2)

Facing Life's Realities

(1)


(2)


(3)


Preparation for the Gospel

## SONG OF SONGS (pp 601-610)

CANONICITY

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

LITERARY QUALITIES

Descriptive Songs

Self-descriptions

Songs of Admiration

songs of Yearning

Search Narratives

Game of Love

Other Literary Forms


SUGGESTED INTERPRETATIONS


Allegorical


Typical


Dramatic


Nuptial Songs

<u>Liturgical Rites</u>

/

<u>Love Song</u>

PURPOSE

<u>Liturgical Rites</u>

## RUTH (pp 611-616)

### NAME AND CONTENTS

### DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

### SOCIAL FEATURES

### LITERARY NATURE AND THEOLOGY

\

## ESTHER (pp 624-629)

INTRO

### THE STORY AND ITS BACKGROUND

Plot

Historicity

Is Historicity Essential?

### RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

To Authenticate Purim?

Which came first— Purim or Esther?

Doctrine of Providence

Anti-Semitism

## THE CHRONICLER'S PERSPECTIVE (pp 630-637)

INTRO

Gen. Adam to David 1-9

Reign of David 10-29

Reign of Solomon 2 Chronicle 1-9

Reign of David's sons 10-36

not strict history.

### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

400 — perspective to pick out events & explain why weighty lessons of judgement & grace in Israel's hist. Focuses on the good kings ... David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, ~~Josiah~~ Hezekiah, Josiah !

### POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

N. Kingdom ignored   David replaces Moses as Israel's patron

### THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

dogmatic historiography — history written from a theological point of view. God exalt the righteous & judges the wicked w/ one's of generation.

Constant concern for the temple, worship, officials, levites. — theocratic character of the community. return to obedient worship (glory depart David & Solomon).

EZRA-NEHEMIAH (pp 638-658)

INTRO

Ezr Neh
7-10⇒8-8

Hebrew canon one book - Ezra corpus

## NAME AND CONTENTS

main characters .

Return of the Exiles and Rebuilding of the Temple (538-516 BC)

Sheshbazzar → Jern w/ Temple stuff, Zerubbabel/Yeshua - Nehemiah

## Work of Ezra and Nehemiah

(1) Return of Ezra: problem of mixed marriages

(2) return of Neh. : building of the walls

(3) Ezra reading of the law ; Feast of Booths

(4) repopulation of Jern : dedication of the walls.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND


### LITERARY NATURE

(1) memoirs of Ezra-Nehemiah

(2) Documents & letters

(3) lists of various kinds


### AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

(?) ca. 400 BC.


### HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS
#### Relationship between Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel

R̶ Unclear in ch 1; not mentioned in ch 2
work is consequential

# OLD TESTAMENT WRITINGS: NOTES ON LaSor-Hubbard-Bush

## Date and Chronological order of Ezra and Nehemiah

Ezra 7th yr of Artaxerxes I ( Longimanus )

Neh. 20th " " " ⎫
                       ⎬ 12 yr governorship returned to Persia
      32th " " " ⎭

later came back

overlap - preaching re: mixed marriages

## ACHIEVEMENTS AND SIGNIFICANCE

### Context-Israel in the Restoration Period

nation-state concept destroyed

temple- torah prophet!

### Achievements and Significance of Ezra

official task - set up mosaic law (2nd movs)  temple) offerings; set up judges;
     priest/scribe
       ↓      ↓

## ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF NEHEMIAH

physical stability

## THEOLOGY OF EZRA-NEHEMIAH

meeting the new needs of their age assimilation into
the medo-Persian world of pot. re Divorce.

Temple

## DANIEL (pp 659-674)

### DANIEL AS APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY

Daniel = apocalypse = kingdom of this world will
be replaced by the kingdom of God → perhaps that's not
Prophecy   Arguments re: historicity + 6th cen. compositions → the issue
   not included in prophetic section:
   (1) late date (2nd cen. composition)
   (2) not true prophecy (ethical/hard teaching)
      → to show events to take place in advance + God unfolds them
      (Neb → Ptolemies/Seleucids → the end)

### Apocalyptic Prophecy — stress on the future; telos (all prophecy has elements

of the future concern) - If not fit to a historic situation then fit it
to the current situation. Timeless nature "how long?" when lose
sight of purpose (missed it) → message obscured not meant to be
exhausted = the days of Antiochus Epiphanes or the Roman
destruction of Jerus or 100 AD or 1844 or 1984 but for "the time of the
end."

### DANIEL AND THE BOOK

The Person — youth taken from Jerus (605) - til 3rd year of Cyrus 536 (early
   teens = 75 w the end); Ezekiel citing → another Daniel

Contents   Stories/vision   Hebrew/Aramaic/Hebrew   1) intro
   2) Neb's dream
   3) Judgement of 3 H.C.
   4) Neb Judged
   5) Belteshazzar "
   6) Daniel & the lions
   7) Daniel Dream
   8) He-goat & Ram
   9) Jeremiah's 70 yrs
   10) Vision of the Tigris
   11) Kings of the South/North
   12) time of trouble

Daniel and the Kings (d 1-6) "historical" section
   (1) why rev. to pagan kings?
   (2) why no external evidence to correspond
      ↓
   passing of power to the gentiles =
      ↑ New Age

Daniel's Dreams   7-12   to reveal things of the future

Dreams given in the text disregarded in interpreting it.

## DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

6th/2nd century → who knows

Language   earlier than 2nd cent.   Heb → chronicler then to Mishnah/or Qumran

Aram → Ezra then to Qumran

evidence for 4th/5th century

Author   wrote down 7:1) dream — authorship not mentioned.

dreams/vision → handed down t. 3rd/4th century

prophet? ~~as~~ different category

## INTERPRETATION OF THE PROPHECY

The Kingdoms and the Kingdom   passing through the Hellenistic age to the

p.__ 6. "prophetic perspective"   future concentration.

here → there

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| head of gold (1st beast) | Babylon → → |
| Breasts silver (2nd beast) | Medo-Persia   Meda   Medo-Persia |
| Belly & Brass | Greeks   Persia   Alexander the great |
| legs & Iron | Rome   Greeks   Alexander's successors |

The Fourth Beast

??

message of hope to saints of the "Most High." his time is limited

Ram, He-goat and Horn   Mede-Persia, Alexander, Antiochus...
the end left open.
close but not quite.


Daniel's Prayer for his people   — 70 year → Exile → but their

(1) going forth of the word to restore Jeru
(2) coming of an anointed one
(3) Jeru rebuilt — but in times of trouble
(4) anointed one cut off — city sanctuary destroyed
(5) coming prince destroys city & makes covenant for
    one week.  ??

Desolating Abomination

review of history — repeating history ?


One Like a Son of Man

_____   Son of man — heavenly universal ruler
          Son of David — human king
                        blended in X'ty

# DANIEL CHAPTER 7

## Daniel's Dream of Four Beasts

¹In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon, Daniel had a dream, and visions passed through his mind as he was lying on his bed. He wrote down the substance of his dream. ²Daniel said: "In my vision at night I looked, and there before me were the four winds of heaven churning up the great sea. ³Four great beasts, each different from the others, came up out of the sea.

⁴"The first was like a lion, and it had the wings of an eagle. I watched until its wings were torn off and it was lifted from the ground so that it stood on two feet like a man, and the heart of a man was given to it.

⁵"And there before me was a second beast, which looked like a bear. It was raised up on one of its sides, and it had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth. It was told, 'Get up and eat your fill of flesh!'

⁶"After that, I looked, and there before me was another beast, one that looked like a leopard. And on its back it had four wings like those of a bird. This beast had four heads, and it was given authority to rule.

⁷"After that, in my vision at night I looked, and there before me was a fourth beast - terrifying and frightening and very powerful. It had large iron teeth; it crushed and devoured its victims and trampled underfoot whatever was left. It was different from all the former beasts, and it had ten horns.

⁸"While I was thinking about the horns, there before me was another horn, a little one, which came up among them; and three of the first horns were uprooted before it. This horn had eyes like the eyes of a man and a mouth that spoke boastfully.

⁹"As I looked,

"thrones were set in place,
and the Ancient of Days took his seat.
His clothing was as white as snow;
the hair of his head was white like wool.
His throne was flaming with fire,
and its wheels were all ablaze.
¹⁰A river of fire was flowing,
and coming out from before him.
Thousands upon thousands attended him;
ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him.
The court was seated,
and the books were opened.

*Heavenly Court*
*Day of Judgement?*

¹¹"Then I continued to watch because of the boastful words the horn was speaking. I kept looking until the beast was slain and its body destroyed and thrown into the blazing fire. ¹²(The other beasts had been stripped of their authority, but were allowed to live for a period of time.)

¹³"In my vision at night I looked, and there before me was one like a son of man, coming with the clouds of heaven. He approached the Ancient of Days and was led into his presence. ¹⁴He was given authority, glory and sovereignty over all peoples,

1

nations and men of every language worshiped him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that will not pass away, and his kingdom is one that will never be destroyed.

## The Interpretation of the Dream

[15]"I, Daniel, was troubled in spirit, and the visions that passed through my mind disturbed me. [16]I approached one of those standing there and asked him the true meaning of all this.

"So he told me and gave me the interpretation of these things: [17]'The four great beasts are four kingdoms that will rise from the earth. [18]But the saints of the Most High will receive the kingdom and will possess it forever - yes, for ever and ever.'

[19]"Then I wanted to know the true meaning of the fourth beast, which was different from all the others and most terrifying, with its iron teeth and bronze claws - the beast that crushed and devoured its victims and trampled underfoot whatever was left. [20]I also wanted to know about the ten horns on its head and about the other horn that came up, before which three of them fell - the horn that looked more imposing than the others and that had eyes and a mouth that spoke boastfully. [21]As I watched, this horn was waging war against the saints and defeating them, [22]until the Ancient of Days came and pronounced judgment in favor of the saints of the Most High, and the time came when they possessed the kingdom.

[23]"He gave me this explanation: 'The fourth beast is a fourth kingdom that will appear of earth. It will be different from all the other kingdoms and will devour the whole earth, trampling it down and crushing it. [24]The ten horns are ten kings who will come from this kingdom. After them another king will arise, different from the earlier ones; he will subdue three kings. [25]He will speak against the Most High and oppress his saints and try to change the set times and the laws. The saints will be handed over to him for a time, times and half a time.

[26]"'But the court will sit, and his power will be taken away and completely destroyed forever. [27]Then the sovereignty, power and greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven will be handed over to the saints, the people of the Most High. His kingdom will be an everlasting kingdom, and all rulers will worship and obey him.'

[28]"This is the end of the matter. I, Daniel, was deeply troubled by my thoughts, and my face turned pale, but I kept the matter to myself."

DANIEL 7 And A Look At The Hermeneutical Gap Between Old
    Testament Apocalyptic Literature (using Daniel chapter 7)
    And Today's "Last Days" Mentality

I.    EXEGESIS: DANIEL CHAPTER 7

INTRODUCTION:
        Problems related to exegeting the book of Daniel and
chapter 7: 1. Theological Presuppositions regarding
supernaturalism and one's understanding of Inerrancy,
2.  Exegeting the small picture and then the large or the
large picture and then the small (presuppositions again),
3. Insufficient historical data,  4.  Emptying an ocean with
a thimble. . .   humble insights of on a subject that has
baffled scholars that have forgotten more than I shall ever
comprehend . . .

STRUCTURE:
        A Basic outline of the Book of Daniel.  A brief look at
the book of Daniel as a whole and chapter 7's place within
it.  <Baldwin's notes p. 59 "a. the book has a discernible
pattern>

        Daniel chapter 7, the intersection between the Court
Tales of chapters 1 through 6 and the Apocalyptic Visions of
8 through 12.  Porteous' comments about the unity of this
chapter <p. 96>
        A basic outline of Daniel chapter 7.  (A more verse by
verse analysis will be addressed when we deal with the
language of the text).

Genre:    Apocalyptic and other Influences (Prophecy, Wisdom
Literature, Lament Psalms).  Who influenced who?  The
problem of defining "Apocalyptic" <Baldwin, AB, Morris, et
al>

Language: Frequency of word usage in the text (English
[NIV]) inconsequential (?) Beast(s) 13x, Horn(s) 11x,
kingdom(s) 10x, king(s) 4x! CROSS REFERENCES/COMMENTS:
"Dreams" Joseph story (Gen 37:..; 40:..; 41:..; 42:9), Lord
        (not) speaking (1 Sam 28:6,15; Jer 23:27,32; 27:9;
        29:8; Joel 2:28 [Acts 2:17]; Zec 10:2).
Night "Vision" Zech 1:8 ; Isa 29:7; Gen 46:2
dreams & visions, a fearful thing Isa 22:5; Job 7:14;
"Lion" preditory animal (lying in wait), Gen 49:9; Ps 10:9,
        17:12, Pro 20:2; 1 Chr 12:8; Isa 5:28; Jer 4:7
"Eagle's wings" Deut 28:49ff, see Eze ch. 17!
"Man's heart" see chapter 4, proud Nebuchadnezzar <Baldwin,
        p. 139>
"Bear" 1 Sam 17:34, associated with a lion (fierce); 2 Sam
        17:8, robbed of her cubs.
            *NOTE: AB p. 205, note 5 "It was raised up on one
of its sides" makes no sense; should be seen to be

1

standing on his hind legs <Baldwin p.139> AB feels vss
4 & 5 the descriptions of the Beasts have been reversed
(the Lion should have the tusks and the Bear the
powerful hind legs) see AB p. 209 first full paragraph*
"Leopard" 8x, 1x re: speed (usually re: silent prowler, Jer
5:6)
"four heads" complete dominion <Baldwin, p. 139ff>
"Iron teeth" unique, "iron" related to fourth metal in
chapter 2 <Baldwin, p. 140>, more terrible than the
lion (with it's three "borrowed" teeth <AB, p.213>,
"our author can find no animal on earth with which to
compare it." <ibid.> Unstoppable in its devouring (?)
"horns" Authority! Ps 18:2, 75:10
"eyes like the eyes of a man" "Human character" <Port., p.
107>
"thrones were set in place . . ." Heavenly court (Job 1,
Isa 6, Rev chapters 4 & 5 . . .)
"The other beasts . . . allowed to live . . ." no authority
to tyrannize, vassals of the Everlasting Kingdom
<Port., p. 190>
"one like a son of man" subject of much controversy <AB pp.
85-102, 218-219; McD p. 3; Baldwin pp. 148-154; Port.
pp. 110-111> primarily = "human being," "Son of Adam,"
Christologically adopted by the Christian Church,
complex cross-meanings.
"an everlasting dominion that will not pass away . . ." 2
Sam 7:13,16; 1 Chr 28:7; Matt 3:2! Not like their
experience in 605!
Daniel "I wanted to know . . . the Fourth Beast . . ."
Daniel concentrates on the problem before him, this
incredible Beast, but the angel seems more interested
emphasizing the Everlasting kingdom that will be given
to the saints. (vss 19ff)
". . . will be handed over to the saints, the people of the
Most High" (vs 27) associated with the son of man
controversy.

Scenerio(s):
        Carnival trick. "Here you go, son. Here's the
five ping-pong balls, now let's see if you can get all
of them to fit on the rims of those four milk bottles
over there." Theological musical chairs!

Four kingdoms and a fifth "Everlasting Kingdom": (why does
everything have to be a controversy?)
Baldwin, McD: Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome
        +
        1) fits with Neb.'s dream in chapter 2,
        2) follows the known chronology of the four empires
        [i.e., Daniel didn't screw up his history];
        3) retains prophetic nature of the book (?), especially
        chapter 11;
        —
        1) who then is the little horn and what do the ten
        horns mean;

+/- 1) leaves the nature of the revelation still open
to this day, supposed future fulfillment beyond our own
day. . . <Bald. p. 147, McD pp. 22ff>

Port., AB: Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece
+
1) fits if the theory that Antiochus IV is the little
horn (therefore Greece is the fourth Beast, etc.),
2) follows what seems to be the second century climax
that the whole book points toward,
3) still fits Neb.'s dream in chapter 2;
-
1) contradicts the known chronology of empires [i.e.,
the author screwed up his history]; <AB, pp. 29ff;
Port. pp. 45ff>


    *NOTE: AB p. 209, paragraph 3, re: animal
descriptions and their numbers (with the three ribs
given to the first beast . . .), numbers = 3 Babylonian
kings, 1 Median king, and 4 Persian, and (obviously) 10
Greek kings.
    *NOTES: It's interesting to notice that McD in his
notes concentrates on the "Seventy-sevens" and
virtually ignores the question of the little king if
the fourth beast is Rome (he throws it into a distant
future mode), and the AB reverses the situation
(doesn't mention the "Seventy-sevens" in its
introductory section).

And Now For Brand X$^1$: Assyria, Babylon, Medo-Persia, and
Greece
+
1) AB <p. 31 [J.W. Swain, "The Theory of the Four
Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire,"
Classical Philology 35 (1940), pp 1-21.]>, and Baldwin
<p. 38>, point to a four world empire motif (which can
be placed over these four empire as easily as B, M, P
and G or B, M-P, G and R),
2) nothing in the chapter indicates that the kingdoms
must parallel those in chapter 2, nor that Babylon has
to be the first kingdom (which follows the original
inclusion of Assyria).
3) fits the theory of the Fourth Beast being Greece and
the little horn being Antiochus IV.
4) retains the "historical" integrity of Daniel's
chronology
5) nothing in chapters 7 or 8 indicates that Medo-
Persia and Greece have to be beasts two and three
respectively (contrary to Baldwin, p. 147)
-
1) "contradicts" the interpretation of chapter 2,
2) to my knowledge no scholar has presented this
option.

Brand $X^2$: Babylon, Media, Medo-Persia, Greece.
+
* same as $X^1$ plus:
6) nothing in chapter 7 negates the idea of overlapping "empires."  ("succession" is a relative term)

Conclusions: What?  Oh, the point behind this mess . . .
The theme is echoed continually in the course of the book:  "O Nebuchadnezzar, we do not need to defend ourselves before you in this matter.  If we are thrown into the blazing furnace, the God we serve is able to save us from it, and he will rescue us from your hand, O king.  But even if he does not, we want you to know, O king, that we will not serve your gods or worship the image of gold you have set up" (3:16-18)  "He [the little horn] will speak against the Most High and oppress his saints and try to change the set times and the laws.  The saints will be handed over to him for a time, times and half a time.  But the court will sit, and his power will be taken away and completely destroyed forever.  Then the sovereignty, power and greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven will be handed over to the saints, the people of the Most High.  His kingdom will be an everlasting kingdom, and all rulers will worship and obey him." (7:25-27)


II.   REFLECTION: Apocalypse, a word to encourage the afflicted.
What happens when the End is delayed and the afflicted become the afflicting? (A Look At The Hermeneutical Gap Between Old Testament Apocalyptic Literature [using Daniel chapter 7] And Today's "Last Days" Mentality)


"Cruisin' down the highway late one night
thinkin' 'bout the world and the shape it's in
Nation against nation, military might
thankful for the peace that I have within.

"Too many people love to hate each other,
the love of many is growing cold
We should be honoring our fathers and mother
as it is written, it all unfolds.

"But it's alright!
Just like a rocket, I'll be flyin' high,
Just like a shooting star, racin' through the sky."
<John & Lynda Mehler, & Billy Batstone, Alright, copyright 1982,
Maranatha!Music>

The plight of the People of God, 6th century Mesopotamia or 2nd century Palestine, take your pick.

A message of hope to the afflicted in the midst of defeat with no or little hope of change.

Contemporary Christianity in Southern California in the '80s, 15 years removed from being social rejects to becoming social movers, absentmindedly hoping to vacate the planet before it blows up.  "Beam me up Scotty, this planet sucks."

A credibility gap once dawned by the establishment of the '60s, a new form of stagnation and sterility.  "When will be the time of your coming?"  Is it going to take another 15 years to hear: "It is not for you to know the times or dates the Father has set by his own authority.  But you will receive power when the holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth"?

The validity and power of Daniel (Rev., et. al.) is not in date setting or even signs on the horizon but a message of hope to an afflicted people.  To some the Lord says: "Come to me all you who are weak and heavy laden and I will give you rest."  But to others (which would be most of us in the "Free" world) he says: "Deny yourself, take up your cross and follow me."

HANDICAPS
OUR CULTURAL CRUTCHES in ASIA
APPROPRIATING DANIEL'S VISION TODAY.

maybe I've made too much of the cultural diffs — cultures are just human expression & human beliefs & there wd be a something that goes far beyond that. But the thing is that we a still in the midst of it. We see through a glass darkly making the thing so confusing.

DANIEL CHAPTER 7

PART I: EXEGESIS:  Four Kingdoms and then the Fifth

## OBSERVATION

WHEN: The first year of Belshazzar (King of Babylon), 549 BC
      <note: AB, p. 30>
WHERE: the city of Babylon (?)
WHO: Daniel and the Interpreting Angel
WHAT:Dreams/Visions of Four Beast and the End
WHY: good question.

## OUTLINE

I.    DREAM OF THE FOUR BEASTS
      A.    Intro (vss 1-3)
            1.    Daniel's physical setting (vs 1)
            2.    Setting of the Dream (vss 2-3)
      B.    FIRST BEAST: (vs 4)
            1.    Lion
            2.    eagles wings (torn off and . . .)
            3.    stood on its feet like a man
            4.    heart like a man
      C.    SECOND BEAST: (vs 5)
            1.    Bear
            2.    raised up on one side
            3.    three ribs in its teeth
            4.    commanded to eat until it's full
      D.    THIRD BEAST: (vs 6)
            1.    Leopard
            2.    four wings (like a bird's)
            3.    four heads
            4.    given authority
      E.    FOURTH BEAST: (vss 7-8)
            1.    Terrifying, frightening, very powerful
            2.    large iron teeth
            3.    crushed and devoured, trampled what was left
            4.    ten horns
                  a.    a little horn
                        1)    uprooted three kings
                        2)    eyes of a man
                        3)    spoke boastfully
      F.    HEAVENLY COURT: (vss 9-12)
            1.    Ancient of Days
                  a.    on his throne
                  b.    white clothing/hair
                  c.    flaming presence
                  d.    attended by a thousand thousands
                  e.    in the presence of ten thousand ten thousands
            2.    judgement (court seated and books opened)
                  a.    fourth beast slain (with little horn) and
                        thrown into the fire.
                  b.    other beasts stripped of their power, but
                        allowed to remain.

I.
      G.      An Everlasting Kingdom (vss 13-14)
           1.    The Son of Man
               a.    with the clouds of heaven
               b.    led into the presence of the Ancient of Days
               c.    receives the Kingdom
                   1)    authority, glory soveriegnty over all
                        peoples, nations
                   2)    everlasting dominion (never destroyed)
               d.    worshipped by men of every language.

II.  THE INTERPRETATION OF THE DREAM (vss 15-28)
      A.      Daniel troubled, asks "one standing there" for
           an interpretation (vss 15-18)
           1.    Four Beasts = Four Kingdoms
           2.    "saints of the Most High" will receive the
               everlasting "kingdom"
      B.      Questions about the Fourth Beast (vss 19-22)
           1.    reasons for concern about fourth beast
               a.    different from the others
                   1)    iron teeth and bronze claws
                   2)    left no survivors
               b.    ten horns, the little horn
                   1)    defeating the saints
                   2)    Ancient of Days delivers them and gives
                        them the kingdom
      C.      Answers about the Fourth Beast and the End (vss 23-27)
           1.    Fourth Beast
               a.    Fourth Beast=fourth kingdom
               b.    it will devour the whole earth
               c.    ten horns=ten kings
               d.    the tenth king
                   1)    subdue three kings
                   2)    speak out against the Most High
                   3)    oppress the saints
                   4)    try to change the set times and laws
                   5)    dominion over the saints for "a time,
                        times and half a time"
           2.    The End
               a.    the court is set (judgement)
                   1)    tenth king (of the Fourth kingdom) is
                        overthrown and destroyed
                   2)    the kingdom is given to the saints, the
                        people of the Most High
                       a)    "sovereignty, power and greatness
                            of the kingdoms under the whole
                            heaven"
                       b)    everlasting kingdom
                 3)    all rulers will worship and obey "him"
      D.      Daniel is troubled by the matter but keeps it to
           himself.


PART II: EXPOSITION: Apocalypse, a word to encourage the
afflicted.  What happens when the end is delayed & and when the
afflicted become the afflicting?

# OUTLINE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

## PART I: THE STORIES

Hebrew:
    I.    PROLOGUE: THE SETTING (1:1-21)
--------------------------------------------------------------------
Aramaic:
    II.   THE NATIONS AND THE MOST HIGH GOD (2:1-7:28)
        AO.  Nebuchadrezzar dreams of four kingdoms and of
             God's kingdom (chapter 2).
        BO.  Nebuchadrezzar the tyrant sees God's servants
             rescues (chapter 3).
        CO.  Judgement of Nebuchadrezzar (chapter 4).
        C1.  Judgement on Belshazzar (chapter 5).
        B1.  Darius the Mede sees Daniel resued (chapter 6).

## PART II: THE VISIONS

        A1.  Daniel has a vision of four kingdoms and of God's
             kingdom (chapter 7).
--------------------------------------------------------------------
Hebrew:
    III. THE SECOND AND THIRD KINGDOMS IDENTIFIED (chapter 8).
    IV.  DANIEL'S PRAYER AND THE VISION OF THE 70 "WEEKS"
        (chapter 9).
    V.   VISION OF THE HEAVENLY MESSENGER AND HIS FINAL
        REVELATION (chapters 10 through 12).
&lt;Baldwin, p. 75&gt;

Daniel chapt. 7

I structure of the chapter (outline)
I structure of the book (outline)
chapt - genre (— night visions —) function?
Book - genre
— words (vocabulary chapter
                         book
                         O.T. →

Apocalypse / Prophecy

OT Apocalypse & US '85 - problem of hermeneutic
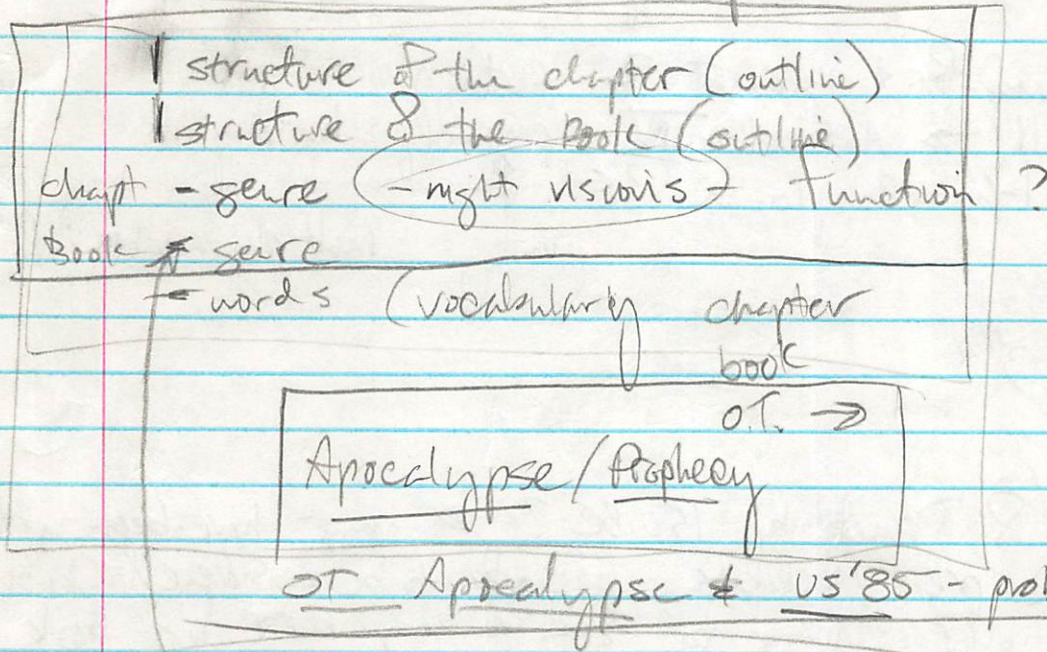
Baldwin
III original languages —
    Hebrew 1:1 - 2:4a; 8:1 - 12:13 [no date]  p. 31
    Aramaic 2:4b - 7:28  "late 6th, 5th, 4th but not 3rd or 2nd cen." p. 34
    (w/date) Greek inconsequential [four words - musical instruments -]
                    ABA structure?

IV Date & Unity
    ch 1-6 oriental - Babylon not Antiochus IV  p. 35
    Daniel 605 - 537 | 80 year old at least - Antiochus
    events ch. 7A ? | shift from history to prophecy @ 11:40 - 165 B.C.
    a.          (ch. 7)? → ch. 2 +
              → 3 kingdom oriental vs 1 king Hellenistic  p 38
                S.K. Eddy, The King is Dead. Studies in Near Eastern
    Resistance to Hellenism 334-331 BC (Lincoln, Nebraska 1961
    esp pp. 182 - 212

b. Is there more than one author?
   One author Rowley p. 40 - style/content...

c. The case for & against 2th century
   ch 11 → Antiochus IV    prophecy   history
   ch 1-6 → Babylonian  ?  ←
                        ↑
   ↓                    unity    multiple-authorship
   2, 7, 8, 11
   4th   3rd
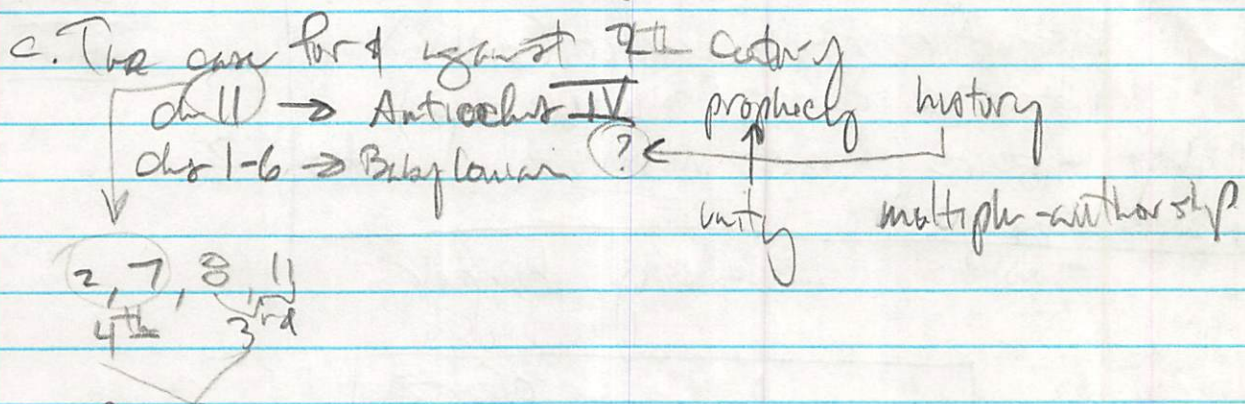
d. Qumran
   MSS & Daniel by 150 BC ? → must have been written
   in pre-Maccabean periods to be considered Canon —
   scholars cling to 2nd century date for book;

II. Literary Genre
   Apocalyptic!  but  stories re: Nebuchadrezzer, Belshezzer
   & Daniel → court tale (Joseph in Egypt) → Wisdom
   lit. , Apoc & pseudonymous → Daniel OT?

(a.) Origins & Apoc.
                                            too
   Persian - influence → Zoroastrianism; late
   Satan not mentioned - Angels not Persian names
   He argues that knowledge is the move-center of
   apocalyptic lit. & that the matrix from which it originates
   is wisdom, understood as 'the effort made by the people
   of Israel to grasp the laws which governed the world
   in which she lived, & to systematize them.' p. 50 < Von Rad
      Old Test Theology 2, p 306
   Daniel & Zechariah } history & apocalyptic p. 50
      & Reve

— 2 —

Baldwin, cont.
V.
    b. The significance of the exile:
        <footnote, page 52: "In the development of his thesis that a
tension between vision and reality resulted in polarization at
times of crisi, Paul Hanson sees that process reaching 'its
extreme in the late sixth and again in the early second
centuries' (op cit., p. 43, footnote).  These then would be the
likely times for the development of apocalyptic.  W.R. Millar, in
Isaiah 24-27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic (Harvard Semitic
Monograph Series, Missoula, Montana, 1976) concludes, 'We can
with reasonable confidence date the entire apocalypse to the last
half of the sixth century B.C.  It was in the years of exile and
shortly thereafter that the apocalyptic movement was born' (p.
120)."
        6th century and the collapse of Israel ---> apocalyptic,
Ezekiel, parts of Isaiah, even after returning to the land:
Zechariah.  ". . . What was lacking was a genuine world-view and
am more comprehensive understanding of history, which would take
account of other nations and their part in God's overarching
purpose.  This is where the book of Daniel comes into its own . .
His duties had/forced him to break away from the thought-patterns
of his childhood and, while maintaining his own faith, to see the
application of its truths in an alien and powerful state.  He
lived through the fall of both the Assyrian and Babylonian
empires, and in his old age would have been made ready to receive
the visionary revelations concerning the final overthrow of God's
enemies." (p. 52,53)

    c. Distinctiveness of Daniel:

        prophetic -apocalyptic (vs→)  "Secular setting"

            Day of YHWH         (missing)

    "On foreign soil, in a missionary situation, the God of gods
revealed himself in ways meaningful to the new culture &
background. Where dreams were revered as a vehicle of
revelation, there dreams were used; where barbaric
punishments were meted out, there this God miraculously
delivered his servants; where pride defied this living
God, there pride was abased." p.53
        For this reason the Deuteronomic interpretation
of history, based on national faithfulness to the covenant, was
no longer adequate ... A more comprehensive coverage
was needed, in which other great nations were not only
included but also played a major role" 54

-3-

Baldwin, cont

## Daniel broader aspect

X brings apoc & covenant promises together wk 13
"The revelation of John does the same thing on a
grand scale, recapitulating all that has gone before in
the Bible to stage the final panorama of human
history, by comparison w/ which Daniel is merely
a kind of first draft." 57

Antiochus IV ↘ 70 A.D.
In the apocalyptic ↘ future?
presentation of history there are
clear indications that cyclical concepts & repeated patterns
are no w/o their contribution to the truth. Nevertheless history
is not an ever-turning wheel going nowhere, but is progress
like a spiral working to a climax, or rather a nadir,
an all-time low, at which point God will intervene
to make all things new. Here the prophets & apocalyptic
writers are at one." 57/58

use of numbers — "the question 'how long?' in Daniel
appears to have its answer, but in the detailed application
the sequence is always cut short." p 58   not yet!

Hosea "then"                    (time tables & mountain ranges?)
Jesus "today"

Matt 24:6 "not yet"

## Book of Patterns ; God's sovereignty, p59 see *

-4-

Baldwin cont

VI STRUCTURE — unity —

a. The book has a discernible pattern

A - B - A

A. Lenglet, 'La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7'
Biblica 53 '72 p169-190
concentric arrangement of subject matter

2/7 — 4 kingdoms
3/6 — narratives which demonstrate God's power to deliver his saints
4/5 — God's judgement on proud ruler
"theology of history, addressed to the kings of the earth
& ∴ written in the 'international language.'" p 60

Hebrew Frame & Aramaic section
1 — introduction

```
2 → 8
7      4
```

b, there is "progressive parallelism"

```
         8        11
2+7   7 ─────────────────── | end
   begin                    |
 least complex      most complex
```
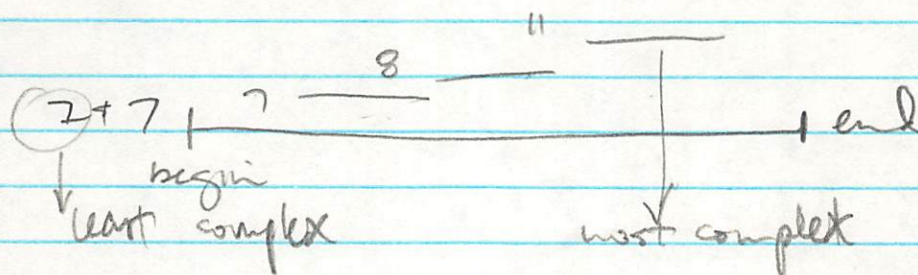
Danl 7 - Prophecy & Apoc.

(models of the Future -)
① Continuity - Classical Proph - "Social Gospel"
② Discontinuity - Radical Apocalyptic - "pop. dispenser
"ora et labora" pray & work" dispensations

Apocalyptic          D.S. Russell Method &
                     message of the Apocalyptic
↓                    Jewish          at working
disfranchised        prophecy        wisdom (?)
↓                       ↓
Hope                    ↓
↓                       ↓
— now powerful          ↓              definitions
↓                       ↓
confused priorities    Apocalyptic
                    God's sovereignty
        Tension between & Human Isa 25-27, Joel
D.S. Burley  The Relevance of Apocalyptic
Phil D. Hanson  The Dawn of Apocalyptic
  "    "    "   Visionaries of their own Apocalypses
K laws Koch   The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic & en pass
D.S. Russell  Apocalyptic Ancient & Modern
Leon Morris   Apocalyptic (New Testament)
   Js Kasemann Xnity through & through Apocalyptic -
       born in the womb of Apocalyptic.
  G. Ladd   "Why not Prophetic - Apocalyptic" ~ JBL

Daniel WHATS GOING ON
Place w/ the Book     First & 2nd vision Cycle
                      how to interp beast ct. d.
                          are like the Son & man
                      what are these things.
Structure & passage — vision —
                      unperp — v.16ff

oppression & Exile ⇒ Hellenistic realm

N.W. Porteous  Daniel    O.T. Library
                         I.CC.

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THE APOCALYPTIC literature has been recognized as a distinct class of writings since the work of Friedrich Lücke in the early nineteenth century. Yet there has been surprisingly little form-critical analysis of these documents. Apart from the general lack of detailed studies of the Pseudepigrapha, three factors have impeded progress in this area:

(1) The use of "apocalyptic" as a noun in English to refer to an amalgam

of literary, social, and phenomenological elements has engendered confusion. Since the work of Koch, Stone, and Hanson there has been widespread agreement that the genre apocalypse should be distinguished from "apocalypticism" and "apocalyptic eschatology."

(2) The genre apocalypse was not clearly recognized and labeled in antiquity. The use of "apocalypse" as a genre label appears to be derived from the book of Revelation in the NT. In the light of the Mani Codex, which speaks of "apocalypses" of Adam, Sethel, Enosh, Shem, Enoch, and Paul, it would seem that eventually the term was widely used to designate a class of writings. Among the Jewish apocalypses of the period 250 B.C. to A.D. 132 that concern us here only a few late ones *(2 Baruch, 3 Baruch)* bear the title in the MSS, and even there it may well be a scribal addition.

(3) Related to the last point is the fact that the Jewish apocalypses commonly embrace various distinct literary forms—visions, prayers, legends, etc. Hence the famous dictum of von Rad that "apocalyptic" is not a literary genre but a *mixtum compositum* (von Rad, 330). At this point Klaus Koch's distinction between complex and component types is helpful (Koch, 28). The undoubted diversity of the component literary types in the apocalypses cannot preclude the overarching consistency of a *Rahmengattung* or macrogenre.

The complexity of the apocalypses has two distinct aspects. First, literary forms are used in a subordinate way within a larger whole—e.g., prayers and exhortations within a vision. Second, many apocalypses juxtapose formally distinct units which are not clearly subordinate to each other (e.g., the visions in Daniel 7–12 and the *Similitudes of Enoch*) or string together a number of distinct units by means of a narrative framework (e.g., 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch). In the latter case some of the component units may be apocalypses in themselves. Such complexity is the norm rather than the exception, at least in the Jewish apocalypses. It cannot be adequately explained by source-critical theories. Even where independent sources are incorporated, we must still account for the composition of the final work. The complex apocalypse is a literary phenomenon in its own right.

*1 Enoch* presents a special problem in this regard. While the book as a whole might be considered a complex apocalypse, it is more commonly regarded as a collection of five independent works. We now know that the *Similitudes* were not part of the Enochic corpus at Qumran and that the *Astronomical Book* was copied separately (J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976]). It seems better, then, to treat *1 Enoch* as a collection of independent works, some of which are themselves complex apocalypses. (On the composition and unity of the various apocalypses see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*.)

In recent years significant progress has been made toward a form-critical understanding of the apocalyptic literature. It will suffice here to note the work of Vielhauer, Koch, the Society of Biblical Literature group in *Semeia 14*, and most recently Hellholm. Vielhauer and Koch, in their valuable contributions, offered lists of typical features and constituent forms. The "morphology of the genre" in *Semeia 14* attempted a more systematic analysis by examining the distribution of the characteristic elements in the corpus of apocalyptic texts. In this way it was possible to arrive at a definition which stated the common core of the genre and to distinguish types and subgenres which are characterized by some of the elements, but not by others. In the process some attempt was made to distin-

guish different levels of abstraction (e.g., visual revelation might be in the form of visions or epiphanies; see Collins, ed., *Apocalypse*, 6). The purpose of *Semeia 14* was to delimit the macrogenre and provide a preliminary classification of the whole corpus of the genre. The classification was based on both form (manner of revelation) and content (the various types of eschatology). The analysis of constituent literary forms and subgenres was not pursued in any detail.

The most recent major study of the genre, by David Hellholm, relies on the methods of text linguistics rather than traditional form criticism. He characterizes his approach as "syntagmatic" in contrast to the "paradigmatic" approaches of Vielhauer, Koch, and *Semeia 14*. Hitherto he has published analyses of the *Shepherd of Hermas* and Revelation but has not completed his study of the genre at large. Consequently the final import of his work remains to be seen. Hellholm does not dispute the validity of the "paradigmatic" approach, but he makes some significant criticism of previous work. His main point concerns the need for greater differentiation among levels of abstraction and among criteria for classification which may be applied to a text. He has also called for greater attention to the function of the genre, a question which was deliberately bracketed in *Semeia 14*.

The distinction between different levels of abstraction bears directly on the definition of the genre. Hellholm ("Problem," 169) proposes the following hierarchy of generic concepts:

Mode of writing—Narrative
Type of text—Revelatory writing
Genre—Apocalypse
Subgenre—Apocalypse with otherworldly journey
Single text—*2 Enoch*, etc.

Several different levels can be discerned beyond the individual text. A particular literary form may be regarded as an independent genre or as a subtype of a broader category. The level of abstraction appropriate to the genre is determined in part by common usage and in part by the degree of coherence which we perceive within a group of texts. On one level, the works which are called apocalypses pertain to the category MYTH, in any of a number of senses, e.g., as a story about supernatural beings, or as a symbolic expression of basic intuitions, or as a narrative resolution of contradictory perceptions. Myth is a much broader category than apocalypse, however; thus the genre of these texts can be defined more helpfully on a lower level of abstraction.

In *Semeia 14* (p. 9) the genre was defined as follows: " '*Apocalypse*' is a *genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.*" This definition is based on a combination of form and content. It should be said at the outset that it is quite possible to define a genre on purely formal grounds, e.g., by ending the above definition after "a human recipient." To do so would simply move the definition to a higher level of generality and make it applicable to a wider range of texts (e.g., the visions of Zechariah would be included). On the other hand, the definition could be extended to address the questions of setting and function

or intention. The definition given above, however, fits all the undisputed apocalypses and gives a more adequate description of them than the purely formal definition. It is our position that the recognition of this genre is not based on setting and function, but on the combination of form and content given above. The questions of setting and function are more complex than has generally been recognized and will be discussed separately below.

The two main types or subgenres distinguished in *Semeia 14* are apocalypses with and without an otherworldly journey. The point at issue here is not the presence or absence of a single motif. The OTHERWORLDLY JOURNEY provides the context for the revelation and determines the form of the work. All the Jewish apocalypses which have no otherworldly journey have a review of history in some form, and so they may be conveniently labeled "HISTORICAL" APOCALYPSES.

Before we proceed to the discussion of these two types we should note two features which apply to both.

First, the recipient of the revelation in the Jewish apocalypses is invariably a venerable ancient figure: Enoch, Daniel, Moses, Ezra, Baruch, Abraham. Usually the revelations are described, pseudonymously, by these figures, but they are recounted in the third person in *Jubilees* and in *Testament of Abraham*. The device of pseudonymity had some biblical precedent in Deuteronomy but was widespread in the Hellenistic world in material analogous to the apocalypses (e.g., the *Sibylline Oracles*, the Egyptian Potter's Oracle, the Persian Oracle of Hystaspes) as well as in other contexts. Its main function was undoubtedly to lend authority to the revelation. The pseudonyms were presumably chosen for their affinity with the subject matter. Enoch was the sage of heavenly mysteries par excellence; the halakhic material in *Jubilees* was ascribed to Moses.

Second, the narrative framework invariably contains some account of the way in which the revelation was received. We may distinguish between the *immediate* and *extended* frameworks. The immediate framework consists of an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction describes the circumstances attending the revelation and the disposition and reaction of the recipient. Prayer for revelation may be regarded as part of the opening frame (e.g., in Daniel 9, where the actual prayer seems to have been composed for a different context). The conclusion describes how the visionary awoke from sleep or was returned to earth. It may also contain the concluding instructions of the revealer and parenesis by the recipient to his children (e.g., in *2 Enoch*) or to a wider public (e.g., the concluding letter in *2 Baruch*). None of these features is invariable but there is always some immediate framework.

Several apocalypses have also an extended framework consisting of stories about the recipient (as in Daniel and *Apocalypse of Abraham*) or providing a larger context for the revelation (e.g., the *Book of the Watchers*, *2 Baruch*, *Testament of Abraham*). This extended framework may be loosely structured and incorporate material that was originally independent (as in Daniel). It is not an essential part of the genre but it is by no means exceptional.

# I. Basic Apocalyptic Genres

## A. The "Historical" Apocalypses (Daniel; Book of Dreams and Apocalypse of Weeks in 1 Enoch; Jubilees; 4 Ezra; 2 Baruch)

### 1. The Media of Revelation

*a. The Symbolic Dream Vision.* The most common form of revelation in the "HISTORICAL" APOCALYPSES is the SYMBOLIC DREAM VISION, which is found in Daniel 7–8; *1 Enoch* 83–84; 85–91; 4 Ezra 11–12; 13; *2 Baruch* 35–47; 53–77. The usual pattern of these visions is:

(1) Indication of the circumstances.
(2) Description of the vision, introduced by a term such as "behold."
(3) Request for interpretation, often because of fear. The request takes the form of lengthy prayers in *2 Baruch.*
(4) Interpretation by an angel. (God interprets the vision in *2 Baruch* 39.)
(5) Concluding material is variable. It may include the reaction of the seer, instructions of the angel, and PARENESIS (in *2 Baruch* and 4 Ezra 12).

The symbolic dream vision, then, can be a formally complete apocalypse in itself, but in the Jewish corpus it is always combined with other literary forms in a complex apocalypse (unless the *Animal Apocalypse* in *1 Enoch* 85–91 is considered apart from the *Book of Dreams* [*1 Enoch* 83–84]). The dream visions of Enoch are exceptional in that there is no request and subsequent interpretation. In *1 Enoch* 83–84 Enoch's grandfather Malalel inquires about the dream and volunteers an interpretation which moves Enoch to pray for mercy. This vision in itself lacks the angelic mediation and is not an apocalypse. In the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85–91) there is no interpretation, but the vision is still mediated by three angels who lift Enoch up from the earth onto a high place (87:3). This episode does not amount to an otherworldly journey, but the role of the angels is closer to that of tour guide than interpreter.

The symbolism of these visions is usually allegorical, i.e., the object seen stands for something else: four beasts represent four kings, a lion and an eagle represent the messiah and Rome. In some cases, however, the symbols are mythic-realistic. In 4 Ezra the man from the sea is identified rather than interpreted. Similarly, in Daniel 7 the divine throne does not stand for something else but has its own reality. Both allegorical and mythic-realistic symbols can be found in a single vision (e.g., Daniel 7).

The dream visions in the apocalypses can be viewed as a late development in the history of a symbolic vision form beginning with Amos (Niditch; Koch,

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"Visionsbericht"). If we juxtapose the two ends of the spectrum, however, we find that their forms are quite different. In Amos 7:7-9; 8:1-3 there is no narrative frame describing the circumstances of the revelation. The vision is not a dream, and is very simple; it is a matter of perceiving symbolic significance in a commonplace object (the plumbline, the basket of fruit). Amos does not ask for an interpretation. Instead God asks him what he sees and provides an interpretation. God, not an angel, is the prophet's partner in dialogue. The claim that the visions of Daniel and 4 Ezra are nonetheless part of a tradition which goes back to Amos rests mainly on the mediating form of the visions of Zechariah. The first vision of Zechariah (1:7-17) is introduced by "I saw in the night," therefore presumably in a dream. Again in 4:1 an angel "waked me, like a man that is wakened out of his sleep." The dream context may also be implied in the other visions. Here the dialogue partner is an angel. In Zech 5:1-4 the angel asks Zechariah what he sees and then provides an interpretation, after the manner of the visions of Amos. In Zech 1:7-17; 2:1-4 (*RSV* 1:18-21); and 6:1-8 only the seer asks questions. In these cases we are closer to the form of the apocalyptic dream vision.

The dream visions in the apocalypses can also be viewed as an adaptation of the symbolic dreams which are attested throughout the Near East. According to A. Leo Oppenheim (p. 187):

> The typical dream-report of our source-material appears within a strictly conventionalized "frame," the pattern of which can be reconstructed from evidence that is surprisingly uniform from the Sumer of the third millennium up to Ptolemaic Egypt and from Mesopotamia westward to Greece. . . . The "frame" . . . consists of an introduction which tells about the dreamer, the locality and other circumstances of the dream which were considered of import. The actual report of the dream-content follows and is succeeded by the final part of the "frame" which describes the end of the dream and often includes a section referring to the reaction of the dreaming person, or, also, to the actual fulfillment of the prediction or promise contained in the dream.

The visions of Amos have no such frame. Zechariah provides a date for the first vision (1:7) but no other circumstances. By contrast the "frame" is characteristic of the apocalyptic dream visions. The lengthy descriptions of the visions in Daniel and the apocalypses are also closer to the conventions of dream reports than to the symbolic visions of the prophets.

While dreams were widely attested in the early books of the Bible, *symbolic* dreams were often viewed with distrust (Deut 13:2-6 [*RSV* 1-5]; Jer 23:25-32; 27:9-10; 29:8-9; Sir 31[34]:1-8). The main biblical reports of symbolic dreams are in the stories of Joseph and Daniel, both of whom serve a Gentile king in a foreign land. (Joseph's own dreams are prior to his exile, and there is a very brief report of a symbolic dream in an Israelite context in Judg 7:13-14.) In view of the Babylonian setting of Daniel 1–6 and of the Babylonian associations of *Enoch* (VanderKam), it seems likely that the postexilic development of the Jewish visionary tradition was influenced by contact with the mantic wisdom of the Babylonians. This is not to say that the apocalyptic dream vision was a foreign borrowing, but that it combined elements from different sources in a new form.

One major element in the apocalyptic visions is the role of the interpreting

angel. This element is found already in Zechariah. We might also compare Ezekiel's angelic guide in Ezekiel 40–48. The introduction of this figure is an innovation over against the preexilic biblical tradition and also over against usual dream interpretation. There are some Near Eastern precedents for supernatural dream interpreters, e.g., in the dream of Gudea which is interpreted by the goddess Nanshe (Oppenheim, 245-46).

An intriguing parallel to the apocalypses is found in the Persian Bahman Yasht, where Zarathustra sees a symbolic vision of a tree with four branches. (So ch. 1; a variant in ch. 3 has a dream vision of a tree with seven branches.) Ahura Mazda interprets the branches as periods which are to come. The Yasht in its present form is a late composition from the Christian era, but it is widely believed to preserve early material from the Avesta. Unlike the Babylonian material, the Yasht resembles the Jewish apocalypses in both form and content. Persian influence was of course possible, even in Zechariah, but the notorious difficulty of dating the Persian material makes the discussion inconclusive.

Much remains unclear in the history of the symbolic vision. There was certainly continuity with the biblical tradition, but we must also allow for influence from Near Eastern dream interpretation and possibly from Persian sources too. In any case the apocalyptic writers display considerable creativity.

Within the apocalyptic corpus, the influence of Daniel is evident in 2 Baruch 35–47 and in 4 Ezra 11–13. Yet we can not ascribe all apocalyptic visions to a single stream. The dream visions of 1 Enoch are independent of (and possibly older than) those of Daniel, and the vision of the cloud and waters in 2 Baruch is not related to Danielic tradition either. The vision form undergoes some development in the book of Revelation, where the dream setting is abandoned. Instead these visions are ecstatic, occurring in a waking state. The symbolism is sometimes interpreted allegorically (e.g., ch. 17) but is often mythic-realistic. In the Jewish apocalypses ecstatic waking revelation is associated with epiphanies and some otherworldly journeys rather than with symbolic visions. The book of Revelation includes a rapture of John to heaven in ch. 4 and adapts some of the characteristics of the heavenly journey, although most of the visions seem to be set on earth.

*b. Epiphany.* An EPIPHANY is a vision of a single supernatural figure, such as the angel in Daniel 10. It is less comprehensive in form than the dream vision and cannot constitute an apocalypse without supplementary forms. The epiphany in Daniel 10 takes the place of the description of the dream vision and is accompanied by an indication of the circumstances and of the visionary's reaction. It is followed not by an interpretation but by an angelic discourse which gives the content of the revelation.

Important precedents for the apocalyptic epiphany are found in Ezekiel, in the theophany in chs. 1–2 and in the angelic epiphany in ch. 8. More broadly, the epiphany followed by a revelation is a modification of the common pattern of "message dreams" (as opposed to "symbolic dreams"). According to Oppenheim (p. 191): "In the Near East . . . the theophany is the prototype of the message dream. The deity appears and addresses the sleeping person for whom submissive consent is the only admissible reaction."

In the early books of the OT we often read that "God came to X in a dream by night . . ." (e.g., Gen 20:3; 31:24; 1 Kgs 3:5; 9:2) but the apparition is not

described. Divine dream figures are sometimes described in dream reports from the ancient Near East. In the dream of Gudea: "In the dream, the first man—like the heaven was his surpassing (size), like the earth was his surpassing (size), (according) to his (horn-crowned (?)) head he was a god, (according) to his wings he was Imdugud (the bird of the Weather-god), (according) to his lower parts (?) he was the Storm-flood, lions were lying to his right and left—commanded me to build his house . . ." (Oppenheim, 245). In the fragmentary Dream of Merneptah "his majesty saw in a dream as if it were the image of Ptah standing in the presence of the Pharaoh, (and) he was as high as . . ." (Oppenheim, 251). Dream theophanies are also common in later classical sources.

An exceptional fusion of epiphany and symbolic vision is found in 4 Ezra 9:26–10;59. Ezra sees a woman and enters into dialogue with her. "While I was talking to her, behold, her face suddenly shone exceedingly, and her countenance flashed like lightning, so that I was too frightened to approach her" (10:25). The woman is transformed into "an established city." The angel Uriel then comes and explains that this woman/city is Zion.

*c. Angelic Discourse.* An ANGELIC DISCOURSE is a revelation delivered as a speech by an angel. It may follow an epiphany as in Daniel 10–11 or be reported without visual elements as in *Jub.* 2:1ff. *Jubilees* is exceptional among the apocalyptic writings in that it has neither vision nor epiphany, and its status as an apocalypse is often questioned. It is in fact a mixed form, since it is simultaneously an angelic revelation and a midrash on Genesis.

The angelic discourse, like the epiphany, has its most plausible background in the "message dreams" of the ancient Near East.

*d. Revelatory Dialogue.* A REVELATORY DIALOGUE is a conversation between the recipient and the revealer (either God or an angel). It is distinguished from other dialogue by the supernatural dialogue partner. There is usually some dialogue in the symbolic visions, but dialogue is also used independently, side by side with visions, in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch.

Dialogue is rare in dream reports (Oppenheim, 191). The supplementary use of dialogue in vision reports has a long history in the prophetic visions. The independent use of dialogue in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch bears some analogy to the dialogues of Job or the Babylonian Theodicy, but the relationship between the dialogue partners is very different in the apocalyptic context since one of them is an angel.

Revelatory dialogue and discourse figure more prominently in later Gnostic apocalypses than in the Jewish corpus. (See F. T. Fallon, "The Gnostic Apocalypses," in *Semeia 14: Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* [ed. J. J. Collins; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979] 123-58.)

*e. Midrash.* A MIDRASH is "a work that attempts to make a text of Scripture understandable, useful, and relevant for a later generation. It is the text of Scripture which is the point of departure, and it is for the sake of the text that the midrash exists" (Wright, 74). Different kinds of midrash can be distinguished: homiletic, exegetical, or narrative. The clearest example of an exegetical midrash in an apocalypse is in Daniel 9, where the angel Gabriel provides an explanation of the

seventy weeks of Jeremiah. The book of *Jubilees* may be viewed as a narrative midrash on Genesis. Both Daniel 9 and *Jubilees* present the midrash as an angelic discourse.

The term midrash is often applied loosely to apocalyptic texts because they are studded with biblical allusions. A midrash, however, takes its point of departure from the biblical text. Even in 4 Ezra 12:11, where the eagle is identified with the fourth kingdom of Daniel, the biblical text is not the point of departure and the designation midrash is not appropriate.

*f. Pesher.* PESHER is closely related to exegetical midrash. The term is used for the interpretation of dreams and of the writing on the wall in Daniel and for the biblical commentaries at Qumran. The commentary is direct and explicit and treats the text or dream piecemeal. The Qumran *pesharim* have their own literary structure. They proceed systematically from one textual unit to another and introduce the pesher by formulas. The apocalypses contain no example of a developed pesher in the Qumran sense. Daniel 9 is the only passage which comes into consideration. Since only one biblical phrase is interpreted there, the parallel with Qumran is limited, but there is an analogy in the style of interpretation. If we regard exegetical midrash and pesher as overlapping terms, either might be appropriate for Daniel 9. By contrast, *Jubilees* is not a pesher since it does not cite the biblical text and comment on it piece by piece.

The origin of the pesher genre is clearly related to dream interpretation. The cognate Akkadian verb *pašāru* was used for (1) reporting the dream to another person, (2) the interpretation by discerning the message of the deity, and (3) the process of dispelling the evil consequences of a dream. While the term pesher in Daniel and in the Qumran texts has lost some of these connotations and modified others, there is obvious continuity with dream interpretation. In the interpretation of the dream of Tammuz (Oppenheim, 246) the individual units of the dream are repeated and then followed by their interpretation:

> "A single reed was shaking its head for you (this means):
> your mother who bore you will shake her head for you.
> Two several reeds—one was removed for you (this means):
> I and you, one (of us) will be removed. . . ."

(Cf. the interpretation of the dream in Daniel 2 and of the apocalyptic dream vision in 4 Ezra 12.)

This style of interpretation of a revelatory text is attested outside Judaism in the Hellenistic age in the Egyptian Demotic Chronicle. This document also bears some analogy to the content of the "historical" apocalypses since it contains predictions of oppression and prophesies the restoration of Egypt under a native king (F. Daumas, "Littérature prophétique et exégétique Égyptienne et commentaires Esséniens," *A la rencontre de Dieu. Mémorial A. Gelin* [Le Puy: X. Mappus, 1961] 203–21).

*g. Revelation Report.* The *Apocalypse of Weeks* in *1 Enoch* 93:1-10; 91:12-19 is cast as a speech of Enoch to his children "according to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and (which) I know from the words of the holy angels and understand from the tablets of heaven." The heavenly vision is not

described but the content of the revelation is reported. The media of revelation presupposed here include at least epiphany and angelic discourse. The "heavenly vision" and the reference to the tablets of heaven could be taken to imply the ascent of Enoch, but there is no explicit reference to an otherworldly journey.

The speech of Enoch here is not a TESTAMENT, since it is not a farewell discourse or deathbed scene.

### 2. The Content of the Revelation

The content of the "historical" apocalypses has its own typical forms. There can be no attempt here to catalog every literary form that occurs in an apocalypse, but only to discuss those which are characteristic of the genre.

*a. Ex Eventu Prophecy.* EX EVENTU PROPHECY, the prediction of events which have already taken place, is found in all the Jewish apocalypses which do not have otherworldly journeys (not necessarily in all units of these apocalypses): Daniel 7, 8, 9, 10–11; *Animal Apocalypse, Apocalypse of Weeks; Jub.* 23:11-26; 4 Ezra 11–12; 2 Baruch 35–47; 53–77. The only *ex eventu* prophecy in the context of an otherworldly journey in the Jewish apocalypses is found in *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

*Ex eventu* prophecy is an old phenomenon in the Bible; an early example can be found in Gen 15:13-16. The apocalyptic use of the form always leads to an eschatological conclusion. (This is also often true of oracles and testaments in the Hellenistic period.) In *Jubilees* 23 the prophecy is relatively unstructured. Elsewhere the apocalyptic *ex eventu* prophecies fall into two types: periodization of history and regnal prophecy.

*(1) Periodization of History.* The PERIODIZATION OF HISTORY is the division of history, or a significant segment of it, into a set number of periods; it is the most characteristic form of *ex eventu* prophecy in the apocalypses. The number of periods may vary: four kingdoms (Daniel 7; 2 Baruch 36–39; cf. 4 Ezra 12:11), seventy weeks of years (Daniel 9), seventy shepherds *(Animal Apocalypse)*, ten weeks *(Apocalypse of Weeks:* seven before the turning point of history), twelve periods (plus two unnumbered periods, 2 Baruch 56–72). Periodization is also widely used in the *Sibylline Oracles*, especially in *Sibylline Oracles* 1–2 and *Sibylline Oracles* 4, and is attested in the Qumran Scrolls (11QMelchizedek, the Pesher on the Periods). This kind of schematization has no real precedent in the OT. The four-kingdom schema was widely known in the Hellenistic period and is attested in the Roman author Aemilius Sura, and, very differently, in the Persian Bahman Yasht. The tenfold division of history was implied in Virgil's fourth eclogue according to the commentary of Servius. The declining ages of humanity were already numbered in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. The ultimate source of the phenomenon of periodization should be sought in Persian thought. Persian parallels can be found for divisions of history into four, seven, ten (all in the Bahman Yasht) and twelve (Bundahishn) periods. (See further Flusser.)

The division of history into a set number of periods served two purposes in the apocalypses. First, it enhanced the deterministic sense that history was measured out and under control. Second, it enabled the reader to locate his own generation near the end of the sequence. In the latter sense the periodized prophecy

could serve as an "apocalyptic timetable" (Hartman) without attempting to specify the date of the eschaton.

(2) *Regnal Prophecy*. Some *ex eventu* prophecies, such as Daniel 11, do not divide history into a set number of periods, but "predict" the ongoing rise and fall of kings and kingdoms (hence the term REGNAL PROPHECY). Light has been shed on this literary form by the publication of Akkadian prophecies. The genre has been described by A. K. Grayson (p. 13) as follows: "they consist in the main of predictions after the event *(vaticinia ex eventu)*. The predictions are divided according to reigns and often begin with some such phrase as 'a prince will arise.' Although the kings are never named it is sometimes possible to identify them on the basis of details provided in the 'prophetic' description. The reigns are characterized as 'good' or 'bad' and the phraseology is borrowed from omen literature." The last point, concerning the characterization of the reigns, does not hold for the Jewish adaptations of the genre. A major Babylonian example from the Hellenistic period is found in the so-called Dynastic Prophecy (Grayson, 24-37). The main apocalyptic examples are found in Daniel 11 and 8:23-27. Similar material is found in the *Sibylline Oracles* (e.g., *Sib. Or.* 5:1-51). Features of regnal prophecy may also be combined with periodization, e.g., in Daniel 7 and 4 Ezra 12.

The purpose of the *ex eventu* regnal prophecies is not very different from that of the periodizations. Again the sense is conveyed that history is predetermined and has nearly run its course.

*b. Eschatological Predictions.* All the "historical" apocalypses have ESCHATOLOGICAL PREDICTIONS, which invariably fall into a pattern of crisis-judgment-salvation (see Collins, ed., *Apocalypse*, 28). It is characteristic of these writings that the judgment and salvation include the restoration of the Jewish people, but also transcend the bounds of ordinary history by the cosmic scope of the judgment and by provision of retribution for the dead, usually through resurrection. (In *Jub.* 23:31 the spirits of the righteous will have much joy.) In many cases the details of the eschatological scenario are simply stated. In a few cases we can discern literary forms. The most important of these are the following:

(1) *The Signs of the End.* The *ex eventu* prophecies often conclude with a crisis (e.g., the allusions to the persecution in Daniel 7, 8, and 11 or the perverse seventh week in *Apocalypse of Weeks*). Some also include a more general reference to eschatological upheavals, e.g., Dan 12:1: "And there shall be a time of trouble, such as never has been since there was a nation till that time." In 4 Ezra and 2 *Baruch*, however, there is a developed form of eschatological woes which are SIGNS OF THE END: 4 Ezra 5:1-13; 6:8-28; 13:30-31; 2 *Baruch* 27; 70. (Cf. *1 Enoch* 80.) The signs are characterized by cosmic disturbances as well as by the disruption of human affairs. The form is familiar from the Synoptic Gospels: "But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun will be darkened and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will be falling from heaven, and the powers in the heavens will be shaken" (Mark 13:24-25; cf. Matt 24:4-36; Luke 21:8-36).

The antecedents of this form can be found in OT prophecy, e.g., Joel 3:1-2 (*RSV* 2:30-31): "And I will give portents in the heavens and on the earth, blood and fire and columns of smoke. The sun shall be turned to darkness, and the moon to blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes." More generally compare Isaiah 24 (v. 3: "The earth shall be utterly laid waste . . ."), where an affinity with old fertility myths is apparent. Portents and omens (e.g.,

*Jub.* 23:25: "the heads of children shall be white with grey hair") were a subject of great interest in ancient Babylonia. They are also common in Greco-Roman literature (see already Hesiod *Works and Days* 181 for the sign of children with grey hair). They are well attested in the *Sibylline Oracles*, where they sometimes have eschatological significance and sometimes not. An overview of the signs in Jewish and Christian material with Greco-Roman parallels can be found in K. Berger, "Hellenistisch-heidnische Prodigien und die Vorzeichen jüdischer und christlicher Apokalyptik," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980) 1428-69.

The function of these signs is to evoke an awesome fear and to serve as a foil for the eschatological salvation which is to follow.

(2) *Description of Judgment Scene.* Some indication of a coming judgment is found in all the apocalypses, but more elaborate DESCRIPTIONS OF JUDGMENT SCENES are found in Dan 7:9-14; *1 Enoch* 90:20-38 (the *Animal Apocalypse*); and 4 Ezra 7:33-38. The basic features of these scenes are the enthronement of the heavenly judge and the execution of the judgment. Daniel and the *Animal Apocalypse* also share the motif of the opening of the books. In 4 Ezra 7 God addresses the condemned so that they recognize their error. This motif of recognition is attested in judgment scenes in the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 62) and the Wisdom of Solomon 5. Cf. also *2 Bar.* 51:4-6. The divine address to the condemned is paralleled in the judgment scene in Matt 25:31-46.

The judgment scenes in the "historical" apocalypses are concerned with whole peoples rather than with individuals. There is no close biblical parallel for the descriptions of the judgment which we find in Daniel and *1 Enoch*. Yet the tradition that Yahweh is judge of the earth and will come to judge the world is associated with the kingship of Yahweh in the Psalms (e.g., 96:10; 98:6-9). In Psalm 82 Yahweh presides as judge over the other gods in the divine council. This psalm presupposes a more elaborate mythology than is explicit in the Bible. The roots of the tradition are presumably Canaanite, although there is little documentation. (See, however, *Ugaritica* V, text 2, where El is enthroned as judge.) Neither the Canaanite nor Israelite traditions (prior to the apocalypses) envisaged a judgment of the dead. Even the judgment scene in Daniel 7 is not explicitly concerned with the dead, although a judgment of resurrected individuals is clearly envisaged in ch. 12. By contrast, the judgment scene in 4 Ezra 7 is explicitly set after the resurrection (cf. the judgment scene in Revelation 20).

(3) *Epiphany of a Heavenly Figure.* Apart from the epiphany of the revealer figure, we also find an EPIPHANY of a heavenly figure within the vision in Dan 7:13-14 and in 4 Ezra 13. While the passage in 4 Ezra is clearly dependent on Daniel, the setting is different. In Daniel the figure on the clouds receives judgment; in 4 Ezra he executes judgment. We should note that while a number of apocalypses *announce* the advent of a savior figure (Michael in Dan 12:1; the messiah in 4 Ezra 7:28; 12:32; 2 *Bar.* 29:3; 39:7; 72:2 *Apoc. Ab.* 31:1), descriptions of an epiphany are rare. In the *Animal Apocalypse* God himself (the Lord of the Sheep) is said to come down (*1 Enoch* 90:14, 18).

These epiphanies are clearly related to the theophany tradition in the OT (J. Jeremias), which in turn has its roots in Canaanite myth (F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973] 147-94). A full-blown THEOPHANY is found in *1 Enoch* 1. (See J. VanderKam, "The Theophany of Enoch I 3b-7, 9," *VT* 23 [1973] 129-50.)

(4) *Prophecy of Cosmic Transformation.* Cosmic transformation is a standard fea-

ture of the "historical" apocalypses, but only rarely do we find an extended PROPHECY OF COSMIC TRANSFORMATION: *Jub.* 23:27-31; *2 Baruch* 73–74 (cf. also the description of the day of judgment in 4 Ezra 7:39-43). These prophecies have their roots in the utopian oracles of the OT, e.g., Isa 11:1-9; 65:17-25.

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## B. Otherworldly Journeys (Book of the Watchers, Astronomical Book, Similitudes [*all in* 1 Enoch]; 2 Enoch; 3 Baruch; Testament of Abraham; Apocalypse of Abraham; Apocalypse of Zephaniah; Testament of Levi 2–5)

The OTHERWORLDLY JOURNEY is a subgenre of apocalypse rather than an

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torical" apocalypses. The otherworldly journeys are visionary experiences and are mediated by angels who serve as guides and interpreters. While the symbolic dream vision was primarily allegorical, the mode of the journey apocalypses is predominantly mythic-realistic, i.e., the heavens and their contents are not understood as allegories for something else. Of course, the contrast is not absolute. We have seen that the dream visions include some mythic-realistic material, and occasional items in the journey apocalypses can be interpreted allegorically.

Here again there are connections with ancient Near Eastern dream reports. The revelation is presented within a narrative frame that describes the circumstances in which the revelation occurred, the ascent (or descent) of the visionary, and his return to his place at the end. (The full frame is not found in all cases.) In two of the oldest apocalypses, *1 Enoch* 13–14 and *Testament of Levi* 2, the revelation is explicitly said to occur in a dream, and in *2 Enoch* the visionary is awakened from sleep for the ascent. Dream travels to the netherworld are attested as early as the death dream of Enkidu in the Gilgamesh Epic (Oppenheim, 213, 248-49). The Assyrian dream book provides a commentary on dream travels to both heaven and the netherworld (Oppenheim, 267, 281-83). This commentary proposes interpretations for various elements in dream travels (e.g., "If he hears in heaven repeatedly rumors of accusations: he will have worries . . .") but do not describe actual dreams. A report of an Assyrian dream vision of the netherworld can be found in *ANET*, 109-10.

Ascents and descents are also widely attested outside of dream reports. In the Babylonian area, the ascents of Enmeduranki, the seventh king, and Utuabzu, the seventh sage, have been invoked as models for *Enoch* (see VanderKam). Descents to the netherworld were ascribed to the Sumerian goddess Inanna and the Babylonian goddess Ishtar. In the Greco-Roman world there is a tradition of heavenly journeys in philosophical texts in which Plato's *Myth of Er* played a formative role (other examples include Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Seneca's *Ad Marciam de consolatione* 26, Plutarch's *De genio Socratis* 21-22 [the Oracle of Trophonius], and *De sera numinis vindicta* 22-31). The genre is parodied in Lucian's *Icaromenippus*. Descents to the underworld are found in Homer *Odyssey* 11 and Virgil *Aeneid* 6 and are parodied in Lucian's *Kataplous* and *Nekyomanteia*. (For an overview see Attridge; more detailed discussion in Betz.) The motifs of ascent and descent were already parodied by Aristophanes in the *Peace* and *Frogs* respectively. The best Persian illustration of an ascent is found in the Book of Arda Viraf, which is a full-blown apocalypse. This book is late (9th century) in its present form, but the motif of ascent is old in Persian tradition (cf. Vendidad 19:90-111; see Bousset, 155-228).

Biblical tradition by contrast has no clear precedent for the apocalyptic otherworldly journey. The OT does not describe what Enoch or Elijah saw when they were taken up. The prophets are said to stand in the divine council (Jer 23:18; cf. 1 Kings 22) but in no case is their ascent described. The nearest biblical approximation to this type of apocalypse is found in Ezekiel's guided tour of the temple area in Ezekiel 40–48, but this involves neither an ascent to heaven nor a descent to the netherworld.

For subsequent Christian and Gnostic use of the genre, see A. Yarbro Collins, "The Early Christian Apocalypses," in *Semeia 14: Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (ed. J. J. Collins; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) 61-121; F. T. Fallon, "The Gnostic Apocalypses," *ibid.*, 123-58.

## 1. The Media of Revelation

### a. Transportation of the Visionary.

*(1) Report of Ascent.* In all the Jewish apocalypses of the journey type the visionary ascends to heaven. The means of ascent varies: clouds (*1 Enoch* 14; 39), the wings of angels (*2 Enoch* 3:1), the wing of a bird *(Apocalypse of Abraham),* a chariot *(Testament of Abraham).* In the *Astronomical Book* in *1 Enoch* 72–82 the ascent is not described, but the revelations presuppose the framework of a journey in which Enoch is guided by Uriel (74:2). *1 Enoch* 81:5 describes how seven holy ones brought Enoch back to earth before the door of his house.

*(2) Report of Descent.* No description of a descent has survived in a Jewish work, but *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* contains visions of the netherworld and presupposes a descent. In *1 Enoch* 22 Enoch journeys to the abodes of the dead inside a mountain.

### b. The Revelation Account. Two subtypes may be distinguished:

*(1) Report of a Tour.* The *Book of the Watchers* has Enoch range to the ends of the earth. In the *Astronomical Book* Enoch is also taken to the ends of the earth (76:1) but his tour is mainly concerned with the heavenly bodies. The *Similitudes of Enoch* also use the tour format, although the movements of Enoch receive little attention (see, e.g., 52:1). In *Testament of Abraham* Abraham is given a chariot ride over the earth before he is taken to the first gate of heaven. These tours are quite diverse and are distinguished by their lack of a consistent organizing principle.

*(2) Report of Ascent through a Numbered Series of Heavens.* This continued ascent is distinguished from the initial elevation since it provides a way of structuring the content of the revelation. The numbered ascent makes for a much tighter and more consistent literary form than the relatively unstructured tour.

While the OT distinguishes "heaven" and "the heaven of heavens" (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:27), the apocalyptic distinction of multiple heavens first appears in the Hellenistic period, and is most probably due to Babylonian influence (see the discussions of Bousset, Morfill and Charles, and Bietenhard). The oldest Jewish apocalypse of this type, *Testament of Levi* 2–5, originally envisaged only three heavens, but the number was subsequently increased to seven. The original number would seem to accord with Paul's rapture to the third heaven in 2 Cor 12:2. *3 Baruch* describes five heavens but the throne of God is still above them. Origen *De Prin.* 2.3.6 refers to a book of Baruch in connection with seven heavens, and so may have known this book in a different form. Otherwise the standard number of heavens is seven: *2 Enoch, Apocalypse of Abraham, Ascension of Isaiah* (Christian, but probably with a Jewish substratum), and in rabbinic tradition (e.g., *b. Hag.* 12b).

The distinction of seven heavens is usually thought to be related to the Babylonian observation of the seven planets (e.g., Bietenhard, 15; Morfill and Charles, xxxii). The conception is more clearly attested in Persian religion, although the evidence is late. The clearest formulation is in the Book of Arda Viraf. According to Celsus the mysteries of Mithra conceived of a ladder of seven steps made of seven different metals that symbolized the ascent of the soul after death (Origen *Contra Celsum* 6.22).

The numbered sequence of heavens functions in the apocalypses in a manner analogous to the numbered periods of history. It demonstrates the order that pervades creation even though that order may be obscured by a crisis on earth.

Within the context of both the tours and the ascents revelation is predominantly in the form of visions. These are mythic-realistic rather than allegorical and are introduced simply by "I saw," without an introductory formula such as "behold." Dialogue with the angelic guide plays a subsidiary role. Discourse by God himself plays a significant role in *2 Enoch* 24–36. Cf. also God's address to Enoch in *1 Enoch* 15–16.

## 2. The Content of the Revelation

The subjects discussed in these apocalypses are fairly constant. They include cosmological matters relating to the sun, stars, and natural phenomena, the abodes of the dead in the places of reward and punishment, the angels, and often the throne of God. In some cases these materials are sufficiently stereotyped in expression that we can speak of literary forms. The *ex eventu* prophecies, which are so characteristic of the "historical" apocalypses, are found only in *Apocalypse of Abraham* of the journey type. There history is divided into twelve periods and the judgment is preceded by ten plagues. The main forms in this type of apocalypse are:

### a. Lists of Revealed Things.

Summary LISTS OF REVEALED THINGS are found in *1 Enoch* 41:1-7; 43:1-2; 60:11-22; *2 Enoch* 23:1; 40:1-13. These lists are primarily concerned with cosmological secrets: "all things in heaven and earth and sea, the courses and dwellings of all the elements, the seasons of the years, the courses and mutations of the days and the commandments and teachings" (*2 Enoch* 23:1). They can also include matters of eschatological interest such as "the dwelling of the chosen and the resting-places of the holy" (*1 Enoch* 41:2). Similar lists are given as the content of the revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai in *2 Bar.* 59:5-11 and Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 19:10. They are reflected negatively in 4 Ezra 4 and 5 in the impossible questions posed to Ezra by the angel: "Come, weigh me the weight of fire or measure me the measure of wind. . . ." These lists have been related to the wisdom tradition as exemplified in Job 38 and to the hymns to God as creator in the Psalms (Stone).

### b. Visions of the Abodes of the Dead.

Descriptions of heaven and hell become quite common in later Christian apocalypses. The only Jewish apocalypse which may be said to contain DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ABODES OF THE DEAD in a stereotyped form is *Apocalypse of Zephaniah.* Less developed visions of the abodes of the dead are found in *1 Enoch* 22; *2 Enoch* 8–10; *1 Enoch* 39:4-8 *(Similitudes); 3 Baruch* 3 and 10. In *1 Enoch* 22 these places are located inside a mountain in accordance with Babylonian tradition. In the *Similitudes* the abode of the righteous is at the end of heaven. In *2 Enoch* and *3 Baruch* the places of both righteous and wicked are in the heavens. In *2 Enoch* the place prepared for the righteous is Paradise. There is also a vision of Paradise in *1 Enoch* 32:3-6, but the description of these places had not yet become stereotyped in the Jewish apocalypses.

Visions of the netherworld as the abode of the dead are attested as far back

as the Gilgamesh Epic and *Odyssey* Book 11. The differentiation of reward and punishment is developed especially in Greek sources.

*c. Judgment Scenes.* While all the apocalypses refer to a judgment, and a few describe the place of judgment (*1 Enoch* 27) or the preparations for it (*1 Enoch* 53), JUDGMENT SCENES are relatively rare in the otherworldly journeys. The scene in *1 Enoch* 62 conforms to the judgment scenes of the "historical" apocalypses. In *Testament of Abraham*, however, an elaborate scene focuses on the judgment of individuals rather than the condemnation of peoples. Here Abel sits on the throne of judgment. There are two recording angels (Recension A), a motif reminiscent of Zechariah 3, where the angel of the Lord and Satan oppose each other at the trial of the high priest Joshua. *Testament of Abraham* also has the characteristically Egyptian motif of the weighing of the souls. Antecedents for this type of judgment scene have been sought in Orphism, as reflected in Plato's *Gorgias* and *Republic* Book 10 (the *Myth of Er*) and in Egyptian tradition as represented by the Book of the Dead of Pamonthes and the Tale of Satni-Khamois. (See G. W. Nickelsburg, "Eschatology in the Testament of Abraham: A Study of the Judgment Scene in the Two Recensions," in *Studies on the Testament of Abraham* [ed. G. W. Nickelsburg; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976] 23-64.)

*d. Throne Visions.* The apocalyptic visions of the divine throne clearly draw on a prophetic tradition, illustrated in the story of Micaiah ben Imlah in 1 Kings 22 and in the visions of Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1. The judgment scene in Daniel 7 includes a throne vision, although no ascent is implied. In the otherworldly journeys THRONE VISIONS are found in *1 Enoch* 14 (*Book of the Watchers*); 60, 71 (*Similitudes*); *Testament of Levi* 5; *2 Enoch* 20–21; and *Apocalypse of Abraham* 18 (also *Life of Adam and Eve* 25). The essential motifs of this form are simply that God is seated on a throne and surrounded by angels. The simplest formulation is in 2 Kings 22. God is portrayed as an aged figure in Daniel and *1 Enoch*. The motif of fire plays an important role in the visions of Ezekiel and Daniel (cf. the smoke in Isaiah) and also in *1 Enoch* 14 and 71 and *Apocalypse of Abraham* 18. The angels sing God's praise in Isaiah. Their refrain is repeated in the long recension of *2 Enoch* 21. There is a lengthy angelic hymn in *Apocalypse of Abraham* 17. The *Similitudes* add a distinctive development in that another figure besides God is enthroned in glory ("that Son of Man" or the "Chosen One"; see esp. *1 Enoch* 61–62). Enthronement of the "Son of Man" figure may also be implied in Daniel 7, but it is not explicitly asserted or described. An intriguing throne vision is attributed to Moses in the drama of the Hellenistic Jew Ezekiel on the Exodus (preserved in Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.28; 29.4-16). There the figure seated on the throne rises and yields it to Moses. This composition may be as early as 200 B.C.

Descriptions of throne visions continue in the early Christian apocalypses (most notably in Revelation 4) and become an important element in the tradition of Merkavah mysticism. (See further Gruenwald; Rowland, "Visions.")

*e. Lists of Vices.* Individual apocalypses may naturally include several literary forms which are well known elsewhere but are not especially characteristic

of the apocalyptic genre. An example which is found in more than one apocalypse is the lists of sins for which people are damned in *2 Enoch* 10:4-6 and *3 Bar.* 8:5; 13:4. LISTS OF VICES, and corresponding lists of virtues, are very common in the Hellenistic world. They are characteristic of Greek popular philosophy but are taken over by Paul and Philo. They are also found in *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. These lists were not originally or necessarily related to revelatory contexts but were simply vehicles of moral teaching. (See A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament* [NTAbh 16/4.5; Münster: Aschendorff, 1936]; H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* [tr. J. W. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975] 100-101.)

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## II. SETTING AND INTENTION

The question of the social setting of the apocalyptic genre is inevitably bound up with that of the dates and historical contexts of the actual texts. Any discussion of the setting of apocalyptic literature must take account of the fact that the historical situations of the texts are concealed by the device of pseudonymity. So

the *Enoch* literature is given a fictional setting before the flood, Daniel in the Exile, etc. The aftermath of the destruction of Jerusalem is especially popular (Daniel, *4 Ezra*, *2* and *3 Baruch*). In the "historical" apocalypses it is often possible to discover the actual time of composition with some precision from the latest historical events mentioned in the *ex eventu* prophecy. The otherworldly journeys are much more difficult to pin down, and we often have to rely on more general evidence, such as their affinity with other literature.

The apocalyptic genre as defined here first emerged in Judaism in the Hellenistic age. Some have argued that the matrix of the genre, or at least of the phenomenon of apocalypticism, should be sought in the late sixth century B.C. Paul Hanson's influential book, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, is concerned mainly with the eschatology of the postexilic prophets. Third Isaiah who prophesied a new heaven and a new earth (Isa 65:17) is regarded as "proto-apocalyptic," and the tensions within the Jewish community after the Exile are thought to constitute the original generative matrix of apocalyptic thought—the "dawn of apocalyptic" is located in the circles of visionaries who were excluded from power by the hierocracy. Even in the matter of eschatology, however, Third Isaiah is still closer to preexilic prophecy than to Daniel or *Enoch*, although the continuity of the tradition should not be denied. The apocalyptic interest in the judgment of the dead is not yet in evidence. The so-called Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isaiah 24–27) is closer to the apocalypses in its highly mythological language, but even here the material is presented in the form of oracles and cannot be regarded as an apocalypse. On the other hand, Hartmut Gese has argued that the visions of Zechariah form the oldest apocalypse. From a form-critical point of view it is apparent that the vision form in Zechariah is indeed a transitional link between preexilic prophetic visions and apocalyptic dream visions, although at most "its form as an apocalypse is inchoate" (Knibb, 176). It is not so readily apparent that the content of Zechariah shares the characteristic worldview of the apocalypses.

Even in the case of Zechariah the affinity with the apocalypses lies in the use of one literary form, the dream vision. Antecedents for other characteristic forms, such as the otherworldly journey, must be sought outside the biblical tradition. We have seen that the various component forms of the apocalypses are quite diverse in their origin and prehistory. Babylonian and Persian influences mingle with the biblical (and some Canaanite) traditions in the early apocalypses of *Enoch* and Daniel. Greek influences become more apparent later, in works such as *Testament of Abraham*. The matrix of this amalgam of forms and traditions was the Hellenistic age, when the Jews were freely in contact with other traditions, both east and west. Like the Jews, the Persians and Babylonians had been deprived of national independence and were exposed to new cultural influences, and so there was also some similarity of circumstances throughout the Hellenistic Near East (Smith).

The more specific settings of the apocalyptic literature have often been conceived along the lines formulated by P. Vielhauer (p. 598): "The home of Apocalyptic is in those eschatologically excited circles which were forced more and more by the theocracy into a kind of conventicle existence. In their eschatological expectation, dualistic ideas and esoteric thought these have a certain connection with the Qumran community; in their organization, materials and forms they have a certain connection with "Wisdom" circles. The origin and, in particular, the history of these circles are not yet clear." Vielhauer's formulation was

influenced in part by the work of O. Plöger, whose view of the sociological matrix of apocalypticism was similar to that of Hanson. Other popular theories have tried to link the development of the genre with the Hasidim of the Maccabean period or the early Essenes (Hengel), or have seen it primarily as a response to persecution. All these views are now in need of substantial qualification.

The first point which must be emphasized in regard to the setting of the genre is that the apocalyptic literature is not all the product of a single movement; in fact, not all apocalypses necessarily have a *Sitz im Leben* in a movement or community at all. The strongest case for an apocalyptic movement can be based on the early *Enoch* literature—"The chosen righteous from the eternal plant of righteousness" (93:10) designates a special group. The insistence on the solar calendar in the *Astronomical Book* supports the assumption of a separatist community (although the status of the solar calendar in the 3rd century B.C. is still disputed). Again, the "righteous" in the *Similitudes* and the *maśkîlîm* in Daniel can reasonably be taken as group designations. However, the position of Daniel on the Maccabean revolt seems contradictory to that of the *Animal Apocalypse*. *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* reflect a quite different theological tradition from either Daniel or *1 Enoch*. They also lack any distinctive group designation and do not appear to express the ideology of any special movement. A work like *Testament of Abraham* is even less bound to a particular group and may be viewed as a reflection on the nature of righteousness.

In view of this situation, no more than a few apocalypses could be assigned to the Hasidim or early Essenism. The Enochic *Apocalypse of Weeks* and *Animal Apocalypse*, and also *Jubilees*, are compatible with what we know of the Hasidim, but in fact that is very little. There is no independent evidence that the Hasidim of the Maccabean period shared the speculative interests of the *Enoch* books. Early Essenism remains a very problematic category. While copies of Daniel and the early *Enoch* books were preserved at Qumrân, these apocalypses do not attest either the distinctive beliefs (e.g., dualism) or community structure of the scrolls, and there is no clear case of an apocalypse composed at Qumran (but cf. 4Q Visions of Amram). Neither Daniel's *maśkîlîm* nor the "righteous" of *Enoch* can be simply equated with the early Essenes.

The view that apocalyptic literature had its setting in conventicles is related to the supposed esotericism of these writings. The people who wrote the apocalypses were certainly learned, as can be seen from the wealth of material to which they allude. They were sages rather than prophets in that they sought a comprehensive understanding of the world, although their "wisdom" was very different from that of Proverbs or Sirach. Here again we must allow that the "wisdom" of the *Enoch* circle was rather different from that of 4 Ezra and *2 Baruch*. We must assume that an inner circle was aware of the fiction of pseudonymity, while the wider public was not, but the esotericism of these writings has been greatly exaggerated. It was necessary to assume that writings which were attributed to ancient figures such as Enoch had been kept secret over the centuries, but the apocalyptic writers were now divulging the mysteries. This is evidently the case in Daniel, where the wise teachers are said to instruct the "many." It is also true in the much quoted passage in 4 Ezra 14, where Ezra is told to "keep the seventy books that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among the people." If 4 Ezra itself is representative of this hidden wisdom, it is now being made

public. The *Enoch* circle may have constituted a relatively closed community, but its relation to the rest of the Jewish society remains uncertain.

The popular view that apocalypses are reactions to persecution is based primarily on the canonical apocalypses of Daniel and Revelation, and is erroneous even in the latter case. The *Book of the Watchers* was written before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and shows no evidence of persecution. The apocalypses written after the fall of Jerusalem (4 Ezra, *2* and *3 Baruch*) are, again, not reactions to persecution. It is true, however, that all the apocalypses are related to a crisis, but the crises are of different kinds: persecution in Daniel, apparently culture shock in the *Book of the Watchers*, the injustice of history (4 Ezra), the inevitability of death *(Testament of Abraham)*. It should also be borne in mind that the crises are *perceived* crises, and may not have been so perceived by everyone (Nickelsburg).

The intention of the genre is closely related to the setting. Vielhauer proposed that the apocalypses were written for the strengthening of conventicle communities, but in fact many apocalypses address a broader audience. Usually they offer consolation and exhortation in the face of some crisis (Hartman, Hellholm). The content of the exhortation, or the kind of stance advocated, may vary; e.g., an apocalypse may support either militant revolution or quietism. The stance of a particular document varies with the tradition from which it comes (Wilson). The consolation and exhortation are sometimes made explicit in the parenetic sections, but usually they are conveyed indirectly, through the view of the world revealed in the apocalypse. The imminence of the judgment in the "historical" apocalypses and the rewards and punishments of the dead in the otherworldly journeys often frame the message of the apocalypses. More broadly the apocalypses provide a comprehensive view of the cosmos through the order of the heavens or the predetermined course of history. This revelation puts the problems of the present in perspective and provides a basis for consolation and exhortation. The intention of an apocalypse then is to provide a view of the world that will be a source of consolation in the face of distress and a support and authorization for whatever course of action is recommended, and to invest this worldview with the status of supernatural revelation. The worldview may or may not serve as the ideology of a movement or group.

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## III. Related Genres

Two other genres of Jewish literature in the Hellenistic period are often grouped with the apocalypses and require a brief comment: oracles and testaments.

### Oracles

An ORACLE is inspired speech, cited directly. It is a basic subgenre of prophetic speech. The main Jewish and Christian oracles of the Hellenistic and Roman periods are found in the *Sibylline* collection. The sibyl is, of course, a pseudonym. The content of the oracles has much in common with the apocalypses, especially with the "historical" type. *Sibylline Oracles* 4 is dominated by an *ex eventu* prophecy of history, which is divided into ten generations and four kingdoms. It concludes with an eschatological prophecy including the resurrection of the dead. The difference between *Sibylline Oracles* 4 and an apocalypse lies in the manner of revelation. Eschatological oracles are also attested outside of Judaism in this period, e.g., the Egyptian Potter's Oracle and the Persian Oracle of Hystaspes. These oracles were frequently vehicles of political propaganda but could also be used to convey moral and religious exhortation.

### Testaments

A TESTAMENT is a discourse delivered in anticipation of imminent death. The speaker is often a father addressing his sons or a leader addressing his people. The testament begins by describing the situation in which the discourse is delivered and ends with an account of the speaker's death. The actual discourse is delivered in the first person.

The content of a testament may vary, but some of the Jewish testaments resemble the "historical" apocalypses. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are of course pseudonymous. They display a consistent pattern of (a) historical retrospective, (b) ethical exhortation, and (c) prediction of the future. The future predictions often have an eschatological finale. The *Testament of Moses* has an extensive *ex eventu* prophecy and eschatological conclusion. Some testaments are also embedded in apocalypses. *2 Enoch* 58–67 contains a speech of Enoch to his sons followed by his translation to heaven. *2 Baruch* 43–47 gives the last instruction of Baruch to his people, but the passage does not conclude with his death. Likewise, the address of Enoch to his sons in the so-called *Epistle of Enoch* is not followed by the death or translation of Enoch. Nonetheless, there is evidently a close relation between the testament form and the patriarch's report of his revelations, especially when told to his sons. The testament form lends itself especially to moral exhortation, and the eschatological predictions often serve to frame the message.

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# DANIEL

# CHAPTER 1

## THE BOOK AS A WHOLE

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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THE BOOK OF DANIEL presents a number of anomalies which are familiar to every student of the Bible.

First, Daniel was regarded as a prophet already in antiquity (Matt 24:15; Josephus *Ant.* 10.11.7 § 266) and is classified with the Major Prophets in the

LXX. Yet in the Hebrew Bible it is found in the Writings, in the fourth place from the end (before Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles).

Second, the extent of the canonical text is a matter of dispute, since the Greek translations include four passages which are not found in the Hebrew: the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men in ch. 3 and the stories of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon. The "additions" are included in the canon of the Roman Catholic Church, but regarded as apocryphal by Protestant Christianity. There is little doubt that these passages were added after the Hebrew-Aramaic book had been completed, but nevertheless they show that there can be no simple appeal to the "canonical form" of the text, at least in an ecumenical context. They also illustrate the diachronic factor in the composition of Daniel and the impossibility of isolating the canonical text from the study of tradition.

Third, even within the text of the Hebrew Bible, Daniel is anomalous by its bilingualism. Chapters 1:1–2:4a and 8–12 are in Hebrew, while chs. 2:4b–7:28 are in Aramaic.

Fourth, the problem of the two languages is compounded by the formal variety of the book. Chapters 1–6 are basically stories, which refer to Daniel in the third person. (Chapter 3 does not refer to him at all.) Chapters 7–12 are ostensibly revelations about the future, presented by Daniel in the first person. The division of the book at 7:1 is corroborated by the dating sequence of the chapters. Chapters 1–6 are set in the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar (chs. 1–4), Belshazzar (ch. 5), and Darius the Mede (ch. 6). Chapters 7 and 8, however, revert to the reign of Belshazzar, followed in sequence by Darius (ch. 9) and Cyrus of Persia (ch. 10). The most perplexing anomaly lies in the fact that the division on the basis of form and date does not coincide with the division on the basis of language. (The argument of Gooding, that the book should be divided at 6:1, fits neither the formal nor the linguistic data.)

Finally, there is the discrepancy between the surface impression gained by a precritical reading and defended by conservative scholarship and the understanding proposed by modern critical scholarship. On the surface, chs. 1–6 tell a series of stories about Jewish exiles in Babylon in the sixth century, one of whom was the recipient of the revelations which are presented in chs. 7–12. The impression that Daniel was the author of the book is derived from the first-person accounts in chs. 7–12 and the direct address of the angel in 12:4, "you, Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book." By contrast, modern scholarship has held that Daniel is a legendary figure, that the stories in chs. 1–6 are no older than the Hellenistic period, and that the revelations in chs. 7–12 were written in the Maccabean period when the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes was persecuting the Jews.

The authenticity of Daniel is a sensitive theological question over which heated battles have been waged, beginning with the famous critique of Porphyry and the response of Jerome. Much of the debate has centered on matters of historical reference, such as the historicity of Darius the Mede, or on the a priori possibility of predictive prophecy. Neither of these issues is directly relevant to a form-critical commentary, and in any case the essential points have been made repeatedly (e.g., in Rowley's classic *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires*). Underlying the debate, however, is the fundamental question of the genre

(or genres) of Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus of Persia were unquestionably historical figures, but the stories in which they are mentioned are not for that reason factual. One can grant the a priori possibility of predictive prophecy without conceding that we find it in Daniel. In each case we must decide what *kind* of story we are dealing with: historical account or edificatory legend, bona fide prediction or *vaticinium ex eventu* (prophecy after the fact). These are literary and form-critical questions. They carry theological implications but they cannot be decided on theological grounds.

Moreover, a form-critical examination bears directly on all the introductory problems noted above.

The place of Daniel in the Hebrew Bible is most probably due to the fact that the prophetic canon was closed before the book appeared. The more significant issue, however, is whether Daniel properly belongs with the Writings. The dominant view of critical scholarship is that Daniel is not a prophetic book but an apocalypse, and is the only full-fledged exemplar of its genre in the Hebrew Bible.

Irrespective of the date at which the Greek "additions" were attached to Daniel, the question of their coherence with the book remains. Here it may be said that Bel and the Dragon is more germane to the book than Susanna, although it is at best out of sequence. Also the Song of the Three Young Men is more appropriate in its context than the Prayer of Azariah is. It is apparent that a purely synchronic study of Daniel must regard at least some of the "additions" as extraneous material. Here the need for some supplementary diachronic study becomes clear.

The diachronic development of the book is also at issue in the problem of the two languages. The most plausible explanation is that an original collection of Aramaic stories was expanded by the addition of the Hebrew revelations in chs. 8–12. This much has been generally accepted, despite H. H. Rowley's famous defense of the unity of the whole book. (The view that the book was a unity was dominant prior to Hölscher's work in 1919. See the review in Koch, *Daniel*, 59-66.) Some scholars hold that the entire book was composed in Aramaic at different times, and that chs. 8–12 were translated for reasons of nationalistic fervor (Ginsberg, Hartman and DiLella). This theory does not explain why only these chapters were translated. The earliest textual evidence, from the Qumran scrolls, already shows the transitions between the two languages. The place of 1:1–2:4a and of ch. 7 in the development of the book is still disputed.

Hölscher proposed three basic stages (with several later interpolations):

(1) Chapters 1–6, all in Aramaic, third century.
(2) An enlarged Aramaic book, chs. 1–7, third century.
(3) Expansion to chs. 1–12 in the Maccabean era.

A variant on this schema has

(1) The original collection is chs. 2–6.
(2) The second stage included ch. 7 and possibly 1:1–2:4a in Aramaic.
(3) The third included the Hebrew chs. 8–12 and 1:1–2:4a in Hebrew, either as a new composition or as a translation from the Aramaic (so Steck, 54-55).

Yet another variant is proposed by Gammie (p. 195):

(1) 2:4b–7:18 (less 7:7b-8, 11a, 12).
(2) 1:1–2:4a; ch. 10; 12:1-4.
(3) 7:19-28; chs. 8, 9, 11; 12:5-13; 7:7b-8, 11a, 12.

Crucial to all these proposals is the reconstruction of a pre-Maccabean stratum in Daniel 7. This issue involves the internal structure of that chapter and will be discussed in the commentary below. For the present it must suffice to say that the arguments for an earlier stratum are not compelling. The referential aspects of the book suggest that chs. 7–12 belong together in the Maccabean period since all are dominated by the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. By contrast, chs. 1–6 contain no certain allusions to that time. While some episodes in chs. 1–6 *could* be read as allegories for the persecution, the overall portrayal of the Gentile kings is scarcely compatible with the persecutor of chs. 7–12.

Daniel 7 is presented as the earliest of the visions and was possibly written before the desecration of the temple in December 167 B.C., since it does not clearly reflect that event. It is possible that this chapter was added to the Aramaic tales before the composition of the Hebrew chapters, but if so the interval would have to be very short, perhaps only a few months. It is easier to suppose that all the visions were added at the same time by the editor who gave the book its final shape (in the Hebrew-Aramaic form). We must assume that both the editor and the intended audience were bilingual. The editor may well have been the author of the Hebrew visions.

The use of two languages in the composition of Daniel can be explained from the diachronic development. The retention of the two languages in the final edition of the book, however, must be explained in terms of the structure as a whole. The retention of Daniel 7 in Aramaic serves as an interlocking device between the two halves of the book. Chapter 7 belongs with the visions by genre, subject matter, and fictional dating (since it begins a new sequence of Babylon-Media-Persia). It is linked to the tales by language and by the obvious parallelism with the four-kingdom prophecy of ch. 2. As Lenglet has noted, chs. 2–7 form a chiastic structure in which 2 and 7 are related by the four-kingdom schema, 3 and 6 are tales of deliverance, and 4 and 5 offer critiques of the kings. This formation does not prove that the Aramaic chapters originally formed an independent book, but it does testify to careful editorial arrangement. It has been suggested that chs. 3–6 once circulated independently, since the LXX of these chapters differs in character from the rest of Daniel (Montgomery, 37; Koch, 19). The parallelism between ch. 7 and ch. 2 not only expands the chiasm but provides a correspondence between the beginnings of the two halves of the book.

The opening section, 1:1–2:4a, was either composed in Hebrew as an introductory chapter for the entire book or translated from Aramaic. Since it would seem to be presupposed in chs. 2–6, and in no way reflects the Antiochean persecution, it was more probably part of the original Aramaic collection. Since it is preserved in Hebrew it is set off from the other tales and forms an inclusio with the Hebrew visions at the end.

### Structure

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| I. The Tales | 1:1–6:29 (*RSV* 6:28) |
| A. Introductory narrative (Babylonian era, Hebrew) | 1:1-21 |
| B. The story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Babylonian era, Aramaic) | 2:1-49 |
| C. The story of the fiery furnace (Babylonian era, Aramaic) | 3:1-30 |
| D. The story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness (Babylonian era, Aramaic) | 3:31–4:34 (*RSV* 4:1-37) |
| E. The story of Belshazzar's feast (Babylonian era, Aramaic) | 5:1–6:1 (*RSV* 5:31) |
| F. The story of the lions' den (Median era, mention of Persian; Aramaic) | 6:2-29 (*RSV* 6:1-28) |
| II. The Visions | 7:1–12:13 |
| A. The vision of the beasts from the sea and the "Son of Man" (Babylonian era, Aramaic) | 7:1-28 |
| B. The vision of the ram and the he-goat (Babylonian era, Hebrew) | 8:1-27 |
| C. The interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy (Median era, Hebrew) | 9:1-27 |
| D. The angel's revelation (Persian era, mention of Greek era; Hebrew) | 10:1–12:13 |

On the basis of the diachronic analysis given above, it is assumed that Part I originally circulated as an independent collection of tales (with ch. 1 in Aramaic).

The position of ch. 1 is ambiguous. It is included with the tales here since it involves a court tale and was probably originally an introduction to chs. 2–6. Yet it is set apart from the other tales by its language and serves now as an introduction to the whole book. The wise teachers who play a crucial role in ch. 11 are called *maśkîlîm*, a term applied to Daniel and his companions in ch. 1.

Again, the conclusion in 12:5-13 serves both as a conclusion to the last vision and to the book as a whole. Formally, however, it is part of the final vision rather than a separate unit.

The two halves of the book are each marked by a sequence of Babylonian, Median, and Persian rulers. The sequence is notable for its inclusion of Media and reflects the four-kingdom schema of chs. 2 and 7. The fourth kingdom—Greece—is mentioned in ch. 10. This structuring device, with the alternation of Hebrew and Aramaic, serves to bind the book together in an editorial unity.

The tales in Part I may have circulated as individual stories before they were collected or may have been developed from older tales (see the discussion of the relationship of Daniel 4 to the Prayer of Nabonidus below). We have noted the chiastic arrangement of chs. 3–6 and the suggestion that these chapters may once have circulated as a separate unit. The three young men, however, have an integral role only in ch. 3. Their association with Daniel is presumably due to the collector of the tales, and is established in chs. 1 and 2.

The opening chapter provides the framework for the following stories and

is presumably the work of the editor who gathered or adapted them. It establishes the identity of Daniel and his friends and the parameters of Daniel's career. The statement that Daniel continued until the first year of Cyrus (1:21) is echoed in a looser reference in 6:29. Chapter 1 also prepares for ch. 5 by explaining how the vessels came to be in Babylon. The dating of ch. 2 to the second year of Nebuchadnezzar is meant to set it near the beginning of Daniel's career, and accounts for his rise to prominence. It also provides for the elevation of his friends. Chapter 3 is exceptional in making no mention of Daniel. The only thread of continuity to the next chapter is the name of the king, Nebuchadnezzar. (The traditional story underlying ch. 4 was about Nabonidus.) Chapter 5 is linked to ch. 4 since Belshazzar is thought to be the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and the stories provide contrasting examples of the pride and humiliation of kings. Chapter 5 ends with the capture of Babylon by Darius the Mede, thus setting the stage for the reorganization of the empire which is the point of departure for ch. 6. The concluding reference to Daniel in 6:29 reaches to the end of Daniel's career. The stories, then, are clearly arranged in chronological order, and assume a sequence of Babylonian, Median, and Persian empires. There is no attempt in the tales, however, to associate Daniel with the fourth kingdom foretold in ch. 2.

The visions, in chs. 7-12, are more obviously bound to each other, by their consistent focus on the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Chapters 7 and 8 are very closely related. Both are set in the reign of Belshazzar, therefore in the Babylonian period but not in the earlier reign of Nebuchadnezzar, to which chs. 1-4 were ascribed. The chronological framework of the visions overlaps with the tales, but begins later and extends further. Chapter 8, like ch. 7, is a symbolic dream vision. The image of the little horn is common to both. The statement at the end of ch. 8, that Daniel did not understand the vision, opens the way for further revelations. Chapter 9 is dated in sequence to the reign of Darius the Mede. The main analogy with ch. 8 lies in the apparition and discourse of a revealing angel. The substance and imagery of the angel's communication is rather different from the other visions because of the explicit reliance on an older biblical prophecy. There is no concluding formula to smooth the transition to the next section. It may be that ch. 9 is meant to provide a break and change of perspective before chs. 10-12, which are closely related to ch. 8. Chapters 10-12 do not have a symbolic vision, but the apparition of the angel is similar to ch. 8, and the content of the revelation in each case speaks of an assault on heaven by the king. Chapters 10-12 are more detailed both in their historical allusions and in their eschatology, and they build up to a climactic revelation of resurrection in ch. 12. This is the only unit dated to the reign of Cyrus of Persia, to his third year, although ch. 1 had Daniel continue only to Cyrus's first year (1:21). The supplementary vision in 12:5-13 is in the nature of an epilogue. The statement that "the words are shut up and sealed" (12:9) marks the conclusion not only of that unit but of the entire book.

Despite the chronological progression in both the tales and the visions, the relation between the units is not simply sequential. Chapters 3 and 6 provide variations on a theme of miraculous deliverance. Chapters 4 and 5 illustrate the theme of pride and humiliation. All the visions are concerned with essentially the same events—the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes. The final revelation is the most detailed, but it in no way supersedes those that go before it. Rather, the different visions look at the same events from different angles.

Taken together they provide a more fully rounded picture than any one of them alone.

## Genre

Taken as a whole, Daniel is an APOCALYPSE, by the definition given in the discussion of that genre above. More specifically it belongs to the subgenre "HISTORICAL" APOCALYPSE, which does not involve an otherworldly journey, but is characterized by *ex eventu* prophecy of history and by eschatology that is cosmic in scope and has a political focus.

The revelation is given in the form of allegorical visions in chs. 7 and 8 and in angelic discourses in chs. 9 and 10-12. The visions are also interpreted by an angel. The content of the revelation has a review of history, in the guise of prophecy and an eschatological crisis, in each unit. Daniel 12 explicitly speaks of the resurrection of the dead. The importance of the heavenly world is shown in the vision of the divine throne in ch. 7 and the roles of angels and holy ones in chs. 7, 8, and most explicitly in chs. 10-12.

That Daniel combines a number of revelations, each of which could be regarded as an apocalypse in itself, is not unusual. This is also true of 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the *Similitudes of Enoch*. Apocalypse is a macrogenre which provides the frame holding various smaller forms together. The overarching unity of Daniel is shown by the narrative framework, which establishes Daniel's identity in chs. 1-6 and in ch. 12 tells him to seal up the book, as if it were all a single revelation. More unusual is the extent of the narrative framework, which is not an ad hoc composition but incorporates a collection of traditional stories which were originally composed for a different setting. The use of legendary narratives as introductory material is not without parallel—cf., e.g., *Apocalypse of Abraham, Testament of Abraham, 2 Baruch,* or even the myth of the fallen angels in *1 Enoch*. It has even been proposed that such narratives are an intrinsic part of the genre (Rowland, 49-52). What is unusual in Daniel is the use of a *collection* of stories and the ideological tensions between them and the subsequent revelations. Yet in the final form of Daniel these stories definitely serve as an introduction to the revelations, and the dominant form of the whole is an apocalypse.

While the subgenres of chs. 1-6 are quite distinct from those of 7-12, there are some significant continuities in both form and content. Daniel is presented in the tales as a recipient of revelations and as a skilled interpreter of dreams and mysteries. Chapters 7-12 are preoccupied with such revelations, although Daniel is no longer the interpreter. There are affinities in content between the four-kingdom passages in chs. 2 and 7, and the miraculous deliverance in chs. 3 and 6 is obviously relevant to the situation described in ch. 11. Yet it would be far too simple to view chs. 7-12 as merely "filling in the details of the early visions of Daniel through the study of scripture and thus confirming Daniel's prophecies in the light of the events of contemporary history" (Childs, 616). The apocalyptic forms in chs. 7-12 represent a quite new development over and beyond the dream interpretation of ch. 2, and the motifs which carry over from the tales do not determine either the form or the message of the revelations. Only in the case of Daniel 9 can we speak of a midrash, and then the base text is not taken from Daniel 1-6 but from Jeremiah. The attempt to present the revelations simply as an outgrowth of the tales is an apologetic strategy intended to mitigate

the supposed scandal of pseudonymity. In fact, however, pseudonymity is a constant feature of the Jewish apocalypses and should cause no surprise here.

The classification of Daniel as an apocalypse is fraught with theological implications. The significance of the genre label is that it points to a context for the interpretation of the individual text. In the case of Daniel, the generic context is provided primarily by pseudepigraphic works, the various apocalypses in *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*. There is no clear case of another apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible. This is not, of course, to deny the massive literary influence of the biblical tradition: we need mention only the analogies with the Joseph story, or the influence of Ezekiel and Zechariah on the vision form. Yet the total *Gestalt* of Daniel finds its best parallels in the Pseudepigrapha, and it is in that context that we must understand its literary conventions and function. In short, Daniel cannot be adequately interpreted within the context of the canon alone. In the past, commentators have tried to avoid this conclusion by dismissing the noncanonical apocalypses as Daniel's "second-rate imitators." We now know that several parts of *1 Enoch* are likely to be older than the revelations of Daniel, and there is surely no reason to regard a book like 4 Ezra as "second-rate." When due account is taken of the genre, then such matters as pseudonymity and *ex eventu* prophecy are no longer theological problems, but conventions which indicate the nature and function of the book.

### Setting

Any discussion of an apocalypse must distinguish between the ostensible setting which is given in the text and the actual settings in which it was composed and used.

Ostensibly, Daniel is set in the Exile in the sixth century, at the successive courts of Babylonian, Median, and Persian kings. The fictitious character of this setting has been demonstrated at length by Rowley and others. The main point at issue in this debate is not so much the date of the tales (which are traditional stories in any case) but the authenticity of the predictions in chs. 7–12. Here it must be said that the evidence of the genre creates a great balance of probability in favor of the critical viewpoint. If the historical "predictions" of *Enoch* are recognized as *ex eventu*, the burden of proof must fall on those who wish to argue that Daniel is different from the other examples of the genre.

### The Setting of the Tales

The ostensible setting of Daniel is not without significance, however. In Daniel 1–6 it creates a paradigmatic setting, to exemplify how Jews can preserve their religious integrity in the service of Gentile kings. The most probable time of composition of these stories is the third or early second century B.C. The four-kingdom sequence, which is explicit in Daniel 2 and is implied by the introduction of Darius the Mede before Cyrus of Persia, points to a date in the Hellenistic period (under the Greek kingdom). The allusion to intermarriage in 2:43 most probably refers to one of the dynastic marriages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. The Greek names of instruments in ch. 3 also suggest the Hellenistic period. Since there is no clear allusion to Antiochus Epiphanes in the tales we must assume ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ composed before the events of his reign It is likely,

however, that these tales had a long prehistory. The origin of these traditions is most naturally to be sought in the eastern Diaspora. Whether they attained their present form there or in Judea is less certain. There is no doubt that the revelations were composed in Judea and so we must assume that the tales were brought back from the Diaspora at some point.

Any attempt to identify the social setting of the tales must of necessity be hypothetical. We may distinguish three ways of approaching the problem.

First, some scholars "accept the narratives' own description of the group involved" (Wilson, 88). According to the text, Daniel and his companions were upper-class Jews who had been educated to serve in the royal court and were entrusted with administrative responsibilities in the Babylonian and Persian empires. We cannot, of course, assume that all aspects of the story reflect the circle of the authors. There is evidently an element of fantasy in the degree to which these Jews are honored and promoted. Yet we might assume that these stories reflect the aspirations and concerns of upper-class Jews in the eastern Diaspora. The authors may have been bureaucrats or counselors, educated in "the letters and language of the Chaldeans." At the same time they were pious Yahwists, concerned not to compromise their religion while serving their king. They regarded the Gentile courtiers and wise men as their colleagues. There is no hint of rebellion in these stories. Problems may arise through professional rivalry (in chs. 3 and 6) but the king is generally benevolent. Even the blasphemous Belshazzar in ch. 5 promotes Daniel in the end. These stories reflect the interests of Jews who were successful in the Gentile world, and who stood to gain by maintaining the status quo.

The second line of approach is congruent with the first, and concerns the intellectual tradition reflected in the tales. Daniel and his companions are wise men, but their wisdom is different from that of Proverbs or Sirach. Rather, it is the mantic wisdom of the Babylonian wise men, who were skilled in the interpretation of dreams and mysteries. Some strands of the Hebrew Bible had looked askance at dreams as a mode of revelation (Deut 13:2-4 [*RSV* 1-3]; Jer 23:28; 27:9; 29:8; Sir 31[34]:1-8; 40:5-7). The approval of dreams here, at least as revelation for Gentiles, has a precedent in the Joseph story, but may nonetheless indicate Babylonian influence. While the authors' knowledge of the history of the Babylonian era was defective, they were familiar with a wide range of lore, as can be seen from the symbolism of the dream in Daniel 2.

The third line of approach is not so directly related to the ostensible setting of the tales. O. H. Steck has noted the affinity between the tales and the ideology of the Jerusalem theocratic establishment in the postexilic era (Steck, 57-58). The theocracy existed within the framework of the world-empires, Persian and Greek, and so was interested in affirming that these empires were subject to the control of the God of the Jews. The "wisdom circles" in Jerusalem might also be learned in international lore and aspire to surpass the Chaldean wise men. Steck draws further support for this thesis from the hymnic passages, which resemble the hymnody of the Jerusalem temple. The interest in the temple vessels in chs. 1 and 5 and the fact that Daniel opens his windows toward Jerusalem in ch. 6 might also be construed as favoring this hypothesis.

Steck's hypothesis has merit in so far as it cautions against the assumption that the ostensible setting of the tales is necessarily the setting of the authors. Yet

the evidence for the proposed "wisdom circles" in Jerusalem is scanty indeed. We know of one major representative of Jerusalem wisdom in the pre-Maccabean era—Ben Sira. The interests and attitudes of that sage are poles apart from those of Daniel, and the evaluation of dreams in the two works is directly contradictory. While the attitudes of the tales are conceivable in the case of the Jerusalem theocracy, nothing in these stories demands a Jerusalem setting. The hymnic tradition of the Psalter must have been known to Jews outside Judea in the post-exilic period. Interest in the temple itself is lacking: the temple vessels figure prominently only in the story of Belshazzar's feast. It is not apparent why Jerusalem circles should develop a cycle of tales set in Babylon, especially when the heroes were not prominent in the biblical tradition. The hypothesis of a setting in the eastern Diaspora remains more plausible.

On any reckoning, the authors of the tales were learned people, presumably from the upper classes. They may have used oral materials to fashion their tales, but the end product was definitely literary in character. They saw themselves as participants in the life of the Gentile empires of the day and were content to recognize those empires as established, for the present, by their God.

### The Setting of the Visions

By contrast with the elusiveness of the tales, we have exceptionally clear indications of the historical provenance of the revelations. Porphyry noted in antiquity that the predictions in Daniel 11 are correct down to (but not including) the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, but thereafter incorrect or unfulfilled. Analogy with other historical apocalypses supports the conclusion that these "prophecies" were actually written during the time of persecution but before the king's death, or at least before his death was reported in Jerusalem. The date of composition thus may be set between the profanation of the temple in 167 and the end of 164 B.C. We need not suppose that all the revelations were composed simultaneously. The Aramaic ch. 7 may be slightly older than the Hebrew chapters. It may even have been written before the desecration of the temple, but after the outbreak of the persecution. Attempts to pinpoint the date of individual chapters to specific months have not carried conviction. It is sufficient to know that the visions have their setting in the time of persecution and that the tales were now re-read in the light of this new setting.

The setting of Daniel can be specified further in that the author evidently identifies with the maskilim or wise teachers who play a crucial role in Daniel 11. As we have noted above, Daniel is said to be a maskil in ch. 1. The maskilim are the heroes of the persecution and they will shine like the stars in the resurrection (12:3). It is more difficult to say just who these maskilim were. In the scholarly literature they are often identified with the Hasidim who are known from 1 and 2 Maccabees. However, the Hasidim were mighty warriors who supported Judas Maccabee vigorously until Alcimus was appointed high priest. There is no militant ideology in Daniel. From the title maskilim we may infer that they were teachers.

It is reasonable to suppose that there was continuity between the authors of Daniel 1–6 and the circle which produced the visions. This assumption is supported by the fact that Daniel and his companions are maskilim in all wisdom in 1:4. The heroes of ch. 11 are thus associated with the heroes of the Exile. While the tales are congruent with the visions in significant respects (the deliverance

from death, the idea of mysterious revelation) it is not apparent that the maskilim of the Maccabean era would have picked up the older Diaspora tales if they had not been conscious of continuity with the tradents of these tales. We may suppose then that the authors of the visions were learned people, and indeed the visions show a good knowledge of Hellenistic history and familiarity with ancient mythological imagery. By virtue of their education they presumably belonged to the urban upper class, although they were not necessarily wealthy. They may have made their living by teaching, as Ben Sira also did. We do not know at what point this group returned from the Diaspora to Jerusalem.

The main alternative to viewing the maskilim as wise men or scribes (in a tradition different from Ben Sira) is the proposal of Lebram that the book of Daniel was written by priestly circles in Jerusalem. Presumably these circles would have been sympathetic to Onias III rather than to the Hellenistic reform. Lebram's main argument is that the temple plays a central role in Daniel and that the disruption of the cult is the author's primary concern. He also argues that the periodization of history and the cosmic scope of the book are priestly characteristics. This thesis would fit well with Steck's theory that the tales originated in the Jerusalem theocracy, although the two theories are independent of each other. It is not apparent, however, that Daniel's visions are dominated by the temple to the degree that Lebram claims. The great vision in ch. 7 does not even refer to it explicitly. The profanation of the temple by Antiochus imprinted itself on the minds of all Jews of the age, as we can see from the books of Maccabees. When the temple was threatened again in the time of Caligula, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo wrote a powerful protest in his Legatio ad Gaium. A similar reaction is recorded in the Egyptian Jewish work 3 Maccabees. Neither Philo nor the author of 3 Maccabees belonged to the Jerusalem priesthood. There is no reason to suppose that only priests were interested in the periodization of history or cosmic chronology. If the book was written by priests we would expect a clearer attempt to establish the priestly character of the maskilim in ch. 11. Some cultic language is used in connection with their death, but the characterization of the maskilim emphasizes their wisdom and their role as teachers.

The visions show a greater affinity with the prophetic tradition than do the tales, especially in the development of the vision form and the interest in eschatology. The shift in interest is presumably due to the new situation and does not require a change in the make up of the group. Steck has also argued for influence from Levitical circles with a strongly Deuteronomic theology. We will consider this suggestion in the commentary on ch. 9.

The precise place of the maskilim in the spectrum of Jewish society at the time of the persecution is less than clear. There is no evidence that they supported the Maccabees. They can be aligned with the Hasidim only if that group is understood more broadly than 2 Macc 14:6, which associates them with Judas, would suggest, although they may have had much in common with those pious scribes. They must also be distinguished from the apocalyptic group that produced the Enoch literature. There is no evidence that they were pro-Egyptian or would have followed Onias IV when he withdrew to Egypt. It would appear that they were quietists, concerned to preserve purity and to commune with the angelic world. Yet they took an active role in resisting Antiochus, not by fighting but by spreading the revelations contained in these visions. The material was circulated

in written rather than in oral form, but may have been supplemented by oral teaching.

The book of Daniel was so widely accepted that it eventually became part of the Hebrew Bible. This should perhaps warn us against identifying the authors too closely with any sectarian group such as the founders of the Qumran sect, although the book was copied at Qumran and has numerous points of contact with the scrolls (cf. the use of such terms as *pesher* and *raz*, the use of *maśkîl* as title for an office, and the apparent influence of Dan 11:21-35 on 1QM 1). The Qumran community drew on other strands of tradition too. In any case the book of Daniel was not written for insiders but was meant to help the masses understand. Its subsequent influence shows that it transcended the particular concerns of the group that produced it.

### Intention

The intention of Daniel in its historical setting is surely to exhort and console the faithful Jews in the face of persecution. The tales of chs. 1-6 could also serve that intention, especially the stories of the fiery furnace and lions' den. In their original setting, however, the tales provided a "life-style for the Diaspora" that showed how fidelity to the Jewish law and service of the king could be combined.

It is useful here to distinguish between the message of the book and the technique by which it is communicated. The content of the exhortation is complete fidelity to the Jewish law, even at the risk of death. This message is constant throughout the book and is exemplified by Daniel and his companions as well as by the *maśkîlîm*. The context of fidelity, however, is different in the two parts of the book. In the tales, the context is the service of the Gentile kings, which is not so much commended as assumed. In chs. 7-12 the context is confrontation with pagan power and there is no question of reconciling the kingdom of God with that of Antiochus. In this context Daniel's message acquires a more specific nuance of pacificism. The *maśkîlîm* are to lay down their lives, but there is no hint of militant resistance. The techniques by which the message is conveyed vary with the context. The tales arouse a sense of wonder and the miraculous, and suggest that fidelity even at the risk of death may prove paradoxically to be the key to advancement. The revelations hold no such easy optimism. Instead they require belief in a supernatural world populated by angels and revealed through dreams and visions. The resolution of human problems must be sought in this supernatural world, and ultimately it involves not miraculous preservation from death but resurrection and exaltation in an afterlife.

Throughout the book the kingdom of God provides the frame for human history. In the tales this is acknowledged primarily in the doxologies. God "removes kings and sets up kings" (2:21), although this is understood consistently only by the wise, like Daniel, who are privy to revelations. In the end God will set up a kingdom which will never be destroyed (2:44), but for the present he has given dominion to the world-kingdoms (cf. Jer 27:5-7). In the visions, the human kingdoms, at least in their final manifestation, are in revolt against God, but divine sovereignty is affirmed, again through special revelations. The kingdom is given to "the people of the saints of the Most High." The formulation here suggests that there is another dimension to human history. The kingdom is given in a heavenly judgment, and the "saints" or angels play a role in it (most obviously in the case

of Michael in chs. 10-12). There is evident continuity between the two halves of the book, but the new situation calls for increased emphasis on the supernatural.

The fictitious setting of the book in the Exile plays a part in its literary function. It serves to conceal the actual historical situation beneath the paradigmatic crisis of the past. This device helps put the present crisis in perspective. In the revelations it also provides the occasion for *ex eventu* prophecy, and so for the suggestion that all is foretold and thus predetermined. The fictitious setting also opens the book up to repeated applications, long after the crisis under Antiochus Epiphanes had passed. Ultimately the book addresses not only one particular crisis but a recurring type. So, e.g., the prophecy of the four kingdoms could be reinterpreted so that the fourth was not Greece but Rome. The setting and function of the apocalypse then are not exhausted by a single historical referent.

In this regard, the differences between the two parts of the book are significant. The *origin* of these differences can only be explained by the diachronic development of the book: the relations between Jews and Greeks were better when the tales were written than they were when the revelations were written. As the book now stands, however, it addresses two *types* of situation, both of which recur throughout history. These are variant possibilities in life, rather than successive historical situations. The suppression of historical particularity in this case opens the way to universal applicability.

# CHAPTER 3

# THE INDIVIDUAL UNITS:

# THE VISIONS

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

See Bibliography at " 'Historical' Apocalypses" and "The Book as a Whole."

## THE VISION OF THE BEASTS FROM THE SEA AND "SON OF MAN," 7:1-28

### *Structure*

The unity of Daniel 7 has been debated endlessly. The majority of commentators accept the substantial unity of the chapter (Hartman and DiLella are a notable exception). There is, however, a long-standing scholarly tradition, dating from the work of Hölscher and of Noth, which argues for the distinction of different strata. Recent exponents of this view include L. Dequeker, P. Weimar,

and R. Kearns. Some scholars, following Hölscher, regard the references to the "little horn" as secondary. Others, following Noth, also bracket vv. 9-10, 13-14 (the visions of the Ancient of Days and "one like a son of man") as redactional.

The source-critical analyses of Daniel 7 are supported by formal consider-ations: 7:1 has been judged superfluous in view of the first-person introduction to the vision in v. 2. The date formula may belong to the redaction of the entire book, while the long formula "visions of his head as he lay in his bed" recalls Dan 4:13. (Weimar, however, regards 7:1a as a deliberate imitation of the beginning of ch. 2 and only 7:1b as redactional.)

In the vision of the four beasts great weight has been placed on the intro-ductory formulas. The formula "I was seeing . . . and behold" (*hzh hwyt . . . w'rw;* RSV "I saw . . . and behold") usually introduces the scene, while a second formula "I was seeing until" (*hzh hwyt 'd dy;* RSV "As I looked") introduces the dynamic action. So the first scene begins (v. 2): "I was seeing in my vision by night, and behold. . . ." Then the sea and the four beasts are introduced and the first beast is described. The second formula follows (v. 4): "I was seeing until its wings were plucked off. . . ." In the second scene, v. 5, the first formula is reduced to "and behold" and the second formula omitted. The third scene, v. 6, has the first formula but not the second. The fourth scene (v. 7), however, echoes the first: "I was seeing in night visions." A symmetrical conclusion is provided by v. 11b: "I was seeing until the beast was slain. . . ."

Verses 8-11a not only interrupt the fourth scene, but also have their own peculiarities. Verse 8 begins: *mstkl hwyt bqrny' w'lw,* "I was considering [RSV "I considered"] the horns, and behold." The participle *mstkl* replaces the otherwise standard *hzh* ("seeing"), and the word for "behold" is spelled *'lw* instead of *'rw.* Moreover, the verse introduces an additional "little horn" beyond the schematic number ten. Verse 9, the throne vision, is introduced: "I was seeing until" (RSV "As I looked"). The verse is usually printed as poetry (so RSV) and regarded as a fragment of an ancient psalm. "I was seeing then . . ." in v. 11a is suspect because of the duplication of the formulaic "I was seeing." If vv. 8-11a, or even just v. 8, are redactional, then the original vision contained no allusion to Anti-ochus Epiphanes. Since the essay of Haller, many scholars have viewed that original vision as an anti-Hellenistic document from ca. 300 B.C. This reconstruc-tion allows for the existence of an Aramaic book embracing chs. 2–7, prior to the Maccabean era (so, e.g., Steck, 55).

The analysis of the remainder of the chapter depends heavily on the fore-going. The vision of "one like a son of man" in vv. 13-14 is regarded as poetry, like vv. 9-10. Allusions to the "little horn" in the interpretation are necessarily thought to be secondary—so at least vv. 20b, 21-22, 24b-25—but the entire supplementary vision and interpretation (vv. 19-27) and even the initial interpre-tation (vv. 15-18) are sometimes questioned.

This redaction-critical analysis is open to serious objections, however. It depends heavily on assumptions of original consistency and symmetry. So Kearns (p. 19) posits an ideal structure in the vision of the beasts, wherein each scene contains two parts, introduced by the formulas "I was seeing and behold . . ." and "I was seeing until." He admits that this structure is not consistently realized. In fact, the introductory formulas are marked by persistent variation. This fact

casts doubt on arguments which are based on deviation from a supposedly set pattern. (So also Casey.)

The redaction-critical approach to Daniel 7 has not adequately allowed for the use of variation as a stylistic device. This point is most obvious in the dis-cussion of v. 8. That the "little horn" is not integrated into the schematic number ten serves to single it out as an aftergrowth or upstart. The changes in terminology *mstkl, 'lw*) help further to single out this figure. The variation from *'rw* to *'lw* does not prove redactional activity since both forms were current. A similar variation is found in the Aramaic words for land, *'r'* and *'rq'* in Jer 10:11, within the same sentence. Other examples of such variation are found in the Elephantine papyri. Again, the supplementary vision and interpretation in Dan 7:19-27 sepa-rates out the fourth beast and the little horn and makes them the object of special attention. It is, of course, possible that such a passage was added by a redactor, but there is no compelling reason why it could not have been part of the original composition.

The arguments against the authenticity of vv. 9-10 and 13-14 are based primarily on the supposed poetic form of these verses. In the case of vv. 13-14 this characterization is questionable. Niditch has shown that the whole chapter is written in a rhythmic prose style which often comes close to poetry. The classical parallelism which is constitutive of Semitic poetry is lacking in v. 13 and clearly present only in v. 14b. Stylistic considerations do not warrant a distinction be-tween these verses and the rest of the chapter. This is also true of vv. 23-27, which are sometimes presented as poetry. Even vv. 9-10, which are admittedly poetic, are not necessarily from a different source for that reason, given the frequent proximity to poetry of the rhythmic prose style. Further, even if these verses are taken verbatim from an older source they do not necessarily disprove the compositional unity of the chapter. It is generally agreed that the visions of the Ancient of Days and "one like a son of man" draw on traditional material in some form. The question is whether the vision of the four beasts ever existed without these passages.

The traditio-historical background of Daniel 7 has a bearing on this ques-tion. Many scholars have accepted the view that the imagery of the chapter is derived ultimately from Canaanite mythology, as exemplified in the Ugaritic myth of Baal's struggle with Yamm (Sea). We do not, of course, have an exact prototype for Daniel 7, but we do have a number of crucial parallels with the extant myth. The juxtaposition of the two heavenly figures of the Ancient of Days and the manlike figure riding on the clouds is most satisfactorily explained as derived from a Canaanite myth in which Baal, who is often called "rider of the clouds," approaches the venerable El (so Emerton, and, with discussion of various other proposals, Colpe). Baal's adversary in one cycle of the Ugaritic myths was Yamm or Sea, who was associated with a dragon and a seven-headed serpent. In Daniel 7 the four beasts come up out of the sea. Their marine origin is not adequately explained by the rather flat interpretation that four kings will arise from the earth. Even OT usage (Pss 74:13-17; 89:10-12 [RSV 9-11]; Isa 51:9-10) sug-gests that the sea is a symbol of chaos. The beasts from the sea in Daniel are chaos monsters, analogous to the sea dragons and serpents of the myth. Since Baal and Yamm belong to the same traditional mythic complex, the juxtaposition here of the rider of the clouds and the turbulent sea can hardly be an accidental

result of redactional activity. See further Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 95-106; and idem, "Apocalyptic Genre and Mythic Allusions in Daniel," *JSOT* 21 (1981) 83-100, for rebuttal of objections.

Even apart from the mythological background, the contrast between the manlike figure on the clouds and the hybrid beasts from the sea seems to be an integral part of the chapter. A vision which only described the four beasts and noted that the fourth was slain would seem strangely truncated, since it would provide no explanation of the slaying and no replacement for the fallen power. Even if we grant that 7:11b is the stylistic complement of 7:7, the insertion of the throne vision and judgment scene prior to the death of the beast is appropriate and even necessary, since the judgment is presupposed when the beast is slain. The hypothesis of an original vision which contained neither the allusions to Antiochus Epiphanes nor the judgment scarcely leaves a purposeful text at all. Daniel 7 in its present form can be understood as a highly purposeful structure. No great confidence can be placed in the hypothetical reconstructions of earlier strata.

## Genre

Daniel 7 is a SYMBOLIC DREAM VISION. The circumstances of the revelation are indicated in v. 1. The description of the vision follows in multiple segments marked by introductory formulas. The request for interpretation is found in v. 16. The interpretation follows and the process is repeated in the supplementary vision and interpretation. The concluding sentence gives the visionary's reaction.

The symbols in the vision are mainly allegorical, but the Ancient of Days must be construed realistically within the mythic context. The interpretation of the "one like a son of man" is notoriously debated. Some scholars take the image as an allegorical symbol for the Jewish people (so, recently, Hartman and DiLella, Casey), others as a mythic-realistic symbol for an angel (U. B. Müller, Collins, Zevit, Lacocque, among others; for the arguments see Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 123-52).

The main subgenres in Daniel 7 are the THRONE VISION in vv. 9-10, which has some noteworthy similarities to the throne vision in *1 Enoch* 14. Here the throne vision is part of a DESCRIPTION OF JUDGMENT SCENE, with the enthrone-ment of the heavenly judge, opening of the books, and execution of judgment. The judgment scene further includes the EPIPHANY of a heavenly figure, the "one like a son of man." Finally, the angel's interpretation includes an EX EVENTU PROPHECY, especially in vv. 23-25, with reference to Antiochus Epiphanes.

A different set of form-critical categories has been proposed by R. Kearns, based on his redaction-critical analysis. Kearns distinguishes *apocalyptic vision* as the genre of Dan 7:9-10, 13-14. He finds this genre only in Daniel 7 and in the vision of the man from the sea in 4 Ezra 13 and is therefore using the no-menclature in a uniquely restrictive way. Both visions could more accurately be identified as epiphanies of heavenly figures. The *symbolic dream* is the genre of the original vision of the four beasts in Dan 7:2-7, 11; and the *dream with auditory interpretation* embraces Dan 7:2-28, except for glosses. (Kearns also posits various elaborations of the symbolic dream before the addition of the interpretation.) This genre consists of dream, reaction, request for interpretation, and interpretation,

and is therefore very similar to what we have defined as the symbolic dream vision.

The main difference between Kearns's analysis and that presented here lies in his assumption that the symbolic dream represents a distinct stratum, prior to the combination of dream and interpretation. There is no adequate source-critical basis for this assumption. The inclusion of the interpretation is the norm rather than the exception in other apocalyptic books. Formal purity is not a reliable guide to the history of the formation of a text.

Two other proposals which bear on the genre of Daniel 7 should be noted. The first would emphasize the dependence of Daniel 7 on ch. 2 and regard the later chapter as a midrashic adaptation of the earlier one. (So Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 617; Hartman and DiLella, 208.) There can be no doubt that Daniel 7 was indeed influenced by ch. 2 in the conception of a dream vision about four kingdoms. Yet comparatively little of Daniel 7 can be explained from this source. The kingdoms are recast as beasts from the sea, and the visions of the ancient one and the manlike figure evoke mythic prototypes which are not suggested in Daniel 2. In short, the influence of ch. 2 is only one factor among others in Daniel 7.

The second proposal, recently put forward by H. S. Kvanig, sees an Ak-kadian vision as background for Daniel 7. The vision in question was published by W. von Soden in "Die Unterweltvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen," *ZA* 43 (1936) 1-31 and is translated in *ANET*, 109-10 as "A Vision of the Nether-world." It dates from the seventh century B.C. Like Daniel 7, the Akkadian text reports a dream vision. Several figures in the dream are hybrid creatures (e.g., the gatekeeper of the netherworld has the head of a lion, human hands, and the feet of a bird). There is a vision of the throne of Nergal, ruler of the netherworld. Kvanig's full argument is not yet available; only a preliminary statement has been published. Yet it would seem that the points of contact between the two visions are slight. Although both are dream visions, they are of different types. Daniel sees a symbolic vision which is interpreted by an angel. The Assyrian visionary experiences a dream journey to the netherworld, and there is no allegorical inter-pretation. The parallels in imagery are also limited. The Assyrian vision has no counterpart to the great sea or to the manlike figure riding on the clouds. The figure who is brought before the throne for judgment is the visionary himself and he is spared. There is no analogue for the judgment and destruction of the beasts. It seems unlikely then that the Akkadian vision holds the key to either the genre or the symbolism of Daniel 7.

The mythological background of the imagery in Daniel 7 does not determine the genre of the vision, but it does bear on the mode of writing by signaling the affinity of the vision with myth. As noted in the discussion of structure, the primary mythological background of the chapter can be found in the Canaanite myth of Baal's triumph over Yamm (Sea). Compare also Gunkel (pp. 331-35), who pointed to the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* before the Ugaritic texts were dis-covered. Both the Babylonian and the Ugaritic myths are examples of the pattern of *Chaoskampf* or Combat Myth, in which a hero god triumphs over a chaos monster. While Daniel diverges from the traditional myth in some respects (e.g., the introduction of the judgment scene), it shows a similar pattern. The rider of

the clouds triumphs over the monsters from the deep. The protagonists are identified in a new way in Daniel's vision, but the mythic pattern plays a significant role in the effect of the story.

The specific descriptions of the beasts are not drawn from any known variant of the *Chaoskampf.* Perhaps the most popular suggestion has looked to Hos 13:7-8, where God threatens that he will be to Israel like a lion, a leopard, a bear, or a "wild beast." Porter relates the beasts to the "root metaphor" of the shepherd, whereby the nations hostile to Israel are described as wild beasts, as in the nearly contemporary *Animal Apocalypse* of *1 Enoch.* He views the hybrid character of the beasts in the light of Babylonian birth omens, and this suggestion is in accord with the general influence of mantic wisdom on Daniel. Porter's suggestions are compatible with the influence of Hosea 13 and with the use of the *Chaoskampf* as the conceptual frame for the vision. By contrast, the claim that the animal imagery derives from treaty curses (Wittstruck) has only uncertain textual support and is not justified by the context in Daniel (see Rimbach).

## *Setting*

The literary setting of ch. 7 in the book of Daniel is central, not in a strict quantitative sense, although it is close to the midpoint of the book, but in its relations to the other units. It is a transitional chapter, tied to the preceding tales by the use of the Aramaic language and by affinities with ch. 2, but tied to the following visions by its subject matter and by its close parallels with ch. 8. It is also arguably the most elaborate and powerful chapter of the book and so has been regarded with some justification as the heart of Daniel's revelation.

Despite the dating to the reign of Belshazzar, the historical setting of the vision is in the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes that began in 167 B.C. In view of the sequence of kingdoms presupposed throughout the book, the four kingdoms must be identified as Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek. Since the fourth beast has ten horns, a date before the third century is unlikely, and no Greek king before Antiochus Epiphanes is known to have inspired such antipathy among Jews. The identification of the "little horn" with a "mouth speaking great things" (7:8) as Epiphanes may be implied already in 1 Macc 1:24 (he "spoke with great arrogance") and is found in Porphyry (Montgomery, 293). It is confirmed by the explicit reference to the persecution in v. 25, where he "shall think to change the times and the law," an allusion to the suppression of the religious festivals (2 Macc 6:6) and of the Torah (1 Macc 1:41-64).

Various attempts have been made to identify the ten horns, especially the three which were uprooted before Epiphanes. The number ten is, of course, schematic. The characterization of Epiphanes as an eleventh makes the point that he is an upstart, whose reign is out of due sequence. Nevertheless, we should expect that there were specific referents for the three uprooted horns. We should note that the text does not say that the eleventh horn uprooted them, and so it is not necessary to suppose that Epiphanes was directly responsible for their removal. Epiphanes was the younger son of Antiochus III the Great. When his father died in 187 B.C. the elder son reigned as Seleucus IV Philopator. Epiphanes, who had been a hostage in Rome, was released in exchange for Seleucus's son Demetrius ca. 176 or early 175 B.C. Then Seleucus died, allegedly murdered by his minister Heliodorus, who seized power, using another son of Seleucus named Antiochus

as figurehead. Antiochus Epiphanes then returned and seized power. Thus the three horns were most probably Seleucus, who was uprooted by Heliodorus, and his sons, whose right to succession was usurped. The ten horns could then be filled out as Alexander the Great, Seleucus I, Antiochus I and II, Seleucus II and III, and Antiochus III. (So also Plöger, *Daniel,* 116.) Some scholars dispute whether Alexander should be counted, but we must emphasize that the number ten is schematic in any case. (For the history of Epiphanes' succession see O. Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria* [Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1966].)

Daniel 7 was written after the outbreak of the persecution and suppression of the festivals and certainly before the rededication of the temple by Judas Maccabee in 164 B.C., since the duration of the persecution is inaccurately predicted as three and a half years. Since Daniel 7 is written in Aramaic and is reflected in ch. 8, it is generally assumed to be the oldest of the visions, and so was probably written early in the persecution, possibly before the desecration of the temple in December 167, since that event is not clearly reflected here.

The social setting of Daniel 7 is in very sharp contrast to that of ch. 6. Not only is the king in ch. 7 not benevolent; he is a demonic monster. The new perspective is directly the result of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is applied retrospectively to the whole Greek empire and indeed to all the world-empires.

Despite the drastic change in perspective, we must assume that there was continuity between the authors of the tales and those of the visions. Daniel, the supposed visionary, is the main hero of the tales. The visions continue to view Jewish history in the context of the world-empires. The "Danielic circle" must have undergone some changes in the interval, however. Presumably they had returned to Judea from the Diaspora, but we do not know when or why. The change of location may have involved a change of occupation. We will find evidence in ch. 11 that they were teachers. The presumed transition from the Diaspora to Judea may have weakened their attachment to the Gentile kings. Their fortune was no longer to be sought in a foreign court. In ch. 7 the king bears the full brunt of the blame. Daniel 7 does not even refer to the Jewish Hellenizers, although their role will be acknowledged in ch. 11. The problem is seen to lie in the dominion of the Gentile kings. Whereas the tales saw that dominion as ordained by God, ch. 7 presents it as a turbulent revolt.

The offences of Antiochus, highlighted in v. 25, are blasphemy, violence, and religious innovation. Nothing is said of economic matters, at least explicitly. Evidently the people whose point of view is represented by Daniel 7 were religious traditionalists who were directly threatened by the persecution. They still combine religion and politics, but have now a more mystical orientation than is found in the tales. This is illustrated especially in the vision of the divine throne. We must assume that they expected to enjoy power in the universal kingdom, which would be given to the "people of the holy ones," but they say remarkably little about it. Their political aspirations must be qualified in the light of ch. 12, where the primary emphasis is on resurrection and exaltation after death.

The attempt to date an earlier stratum of Daniel 7 as early as 300 B.C. (Noth and others) rests on an uncertain source-critical basis. Besides, there is no evidence of Jewish resistance to Hellenism at that early time.

## Intention

The message of Daniel 7 is clearly indicated in the judgment scene when the kingdom is given to the "one like a son of man," or (according to the interpretation) to the holy ones of the Most High or to the people of the holy ones of the Most High. Whether the holy ones are identified as the angelic counterparts of the Jews (Noth, Dequeker, Collins) or only as the Jews themselves (Hartman and DiLella, Casey), this conclusion is evidently a source of comfort in the face of persecution.

This summary of the message of Daniel 7, however, is far from doing justice to the effect of the vision, which is heavily dependent on the symbolism. Initially, the turbulent sea and the monsters which emerge from it inspire terror rather than allay it. The dream does not simply describe the situation of the Jews in the Maccabean period. It construes this situation in a particular light, as a scene of terror. The full force of this vision can only be appreciated if we recognize the allusion to the ancient myth where the sea (Yamm) represented primordial chaos. The terror is then balanced by the sublimity of the throne vision and the judgment. The manlike figure riding on the clouds is in evident contrast to the beasts rising from the sea. The force and significance of the contrast is again enhanced if we recognize the allusion to the ancient myth in which Baal, rider of the clouds, triumphs over Yamm. Daniel is asserting that the struggle in which the Jews are involved is a reenactment of the primordial battle of the myth. The vision conveys at once an understanding of the nature of this struggle and an assurance about its ultimate outcome.

The imagery of the "one like a son of man" and the "holy ones of the Most High" also bears directly on our understanding of the vision. The arguments have often been rehearsed and need not be repeated here. (See Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 123-52.) We shall find throughout Daniel 7–12 that human events are acted out against a backdrop of supernatural, angelic activity. The worldview presupposed is most clearly expressed in chs. 10–12. Indeed, the vision of the beasts from the sea, by its mythological resonance, suggests that Daniel does not see the conflict as merely between human parties. It is very unlikely that the "one like a son of man" and the "holy ones" are mere ciphers for the persecuted Jews. Rather, they are mythic-realistic symbols which refer to the angelic powers, under their leader Michael, which Daniel believed would enable the Jews to prevail.

The function of Daniel 7 is indeed to exhort and console the persecuted Jews, but this function is performed indirectly by presenting a view of the world as the arena of supernatural forces and by looking to a heavenly judgment for the resolution of the conflict. The implications of this worldview for the message of Daniel, and for the conduct to which it exhorts the persecuted Jews, will be seen more clearly in chs. 10–12.

Ultimately the intention of the book of Daniel must be seen to transcend its historical situation. The vision is deliberately presented in symbolic language which never mentions explicitly the historical referents. Consequently, it could be easily reapplied to new historical situations. At the end of the first century the Jewish historian Josephus understood the fourth kingdom as Rome and this interpretation is also reflected in the apocalypse of 4 Ezra (ch. 13) from the same period. The Gospel writers identified the "Son of Man" who would come on the

clouds of heaven as Jesus, and the chapter was long understood to refer to the coming of the messiah in both Jewish and Christian traditions (Montgomery, 321). The particular circumstances of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes were assimilated to the pattern of an ancient myth, and so to a type of situation which might recur in history or be projected forward to the end time. The vision expressed a hope for a transcendent judgment, beyond any human situation and beyond the control of any human power.

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## THE VISION OF THE RAM AND THE HE-GOAT, 8:1-27

### Structure

| | |
|---|---|
| I. Introduction | 1-2 |
| A. Date | 1 |
| B. Indication of place, introduced by "I saw in the vision; and when I saw . . ." | 2a |

This vision is directly related to the preceding one in ch. 7, to which it apparently refers in v. 1 ("after that which appeared to me at the first"). The vision consists of a series of episodes which show a clear progression. First, the ram magnifies itself. Then the he-goat defeats the ram and magnifies itself. Its great horn is broken but the new little horn magnifies itself even up to the Prince of the host (God). The angelic conversation reports that there is a fixed term for the success of the little horn. This conversation is included in the vision, since the transition to the next section is marked clearly at 8:15 ("When I, Daniel, had seen the vision . . ."). The epiphany of the revealer underlines the supernatural authority of the interpretation. The angel passes lightly over the ram and the original goat but repeats the career of the "little horn" in some detail, including his climactic revolt against "the Prince of princes." The interpretation adds a statement which has no counterpart in the vision: "by no (human) hand, he shall be broken." The angel concludes by affirming the reliability of the vision. The concluding statement that Daniel did not understand the vision leaves the door open for further complementary revelations.

It is clear from the interpretation that the climax of the chapter is the revolt of the "little horn" and his ultimate defeat. The duration of the profanation of the temple is highlighted in the angelic conversation, but it appears parenthetical to the vision's main concern with the career of the little horn.

The unity of Daniel 8, like ch. 7, has been contested. The opening verses repeat the words "vision" and "saw" excessively. Some of the repetition may be due to errors in transmission; some of the phrases are not found in the Greek translations.

More substantive disputes have centered on vv. 11-14, where the angelic dialogue has been thought to disrupt the vision. In some cases the argument has been based on content (e.g., Hartman and DiLella maintain that "in the basic apocalypse the 'holy ones' are the pious Jews," whereas they are undeniably angels in these verses; this argument collapses if the "holy ones" are angels throughout). Other arguments are based on form (Hasslberger): the verb form switches from feminine (in agreement with horn) to masculine (anticipating the interpretation), and the "holy ones" are mythic-realistic figures unlike the alle-

gorical symbols of the ram and the goat. The change in verb form shows that the author did not maintain his allegory consistently, but such a slip does not require us to posit a second writer. There is no reason why one vision cannot contain both allegorical and mythic-realistic symbols; both are also found in Daniel 7. The objections to the authenticity of these verses, then, cannot be sustained. Verse 26a, which refers to "the vision of the evenings and the mornings," stands or falls with the angelic dialogue to which it refers.

A question has been raised about v. 16 because it uses the word *mar'eh* for vision, instead of the more usual *ḥāzôn* (Ginsberg, *Studies*, 29-38), and also because Daniel's vision had ended in v. 15 (Hartman and DiLella). The latter point can carry no weight—there is no reason why Daniel should not have had further visions after v. 15. And the change in terminology is not an adequate justification for textual surgery.

There is apparent duplication between vv. 17 and 18-19—Daniel is twice said to fall prostrate and the angel twice explains that the vision refers to the end. The redundancy serves some formal purpose; the first formulation rounds out the epiphany, while the second introduces the interpretation. It may be, however, that the duplication results from conflation of different textual readings. There is no evidence of purposeful redactional alteration. (The argument of Hartman and DiLella that *qēṣ* is eschatological in v. 17 but not in v. 19 is unfounded.)

Finally, Hasslberger and Hartman and DiLella object that the concluding statement that Daniel did not understand the vision is incompatible with the fact that the angel has explained it. Unfortunately Daniel was not the last person to remain bewildered by this vision after an explanation had been given!

### Genre

The vision in Daniel 8 is not explicitly said to be a dream, but it conforms to the pattern of the SYMBOLIC DREAM VISION. Daniel's presence in Susa should be understood as a transportation in the spirit ("and when I saw, I was in Susa"; cf. the transportation of Ezekiel in Ezekiel 8), despite the claim of Josephus that he was physically there (Josephus *Ant.* 10.11.7 §§263-66). The chapter exhibits the full pattern of the genre:

—indication of circumstances
—description of the vision, introduced by "behold"
—request (or desire) for interpretation
—interpretation and
—concluding material.

As we have noted, the vision uses both allegorical and mythic-realistic symbols. The most distinctive variation on the pattern here is the EPIPHANY of the interpreting angel. This feature links Daniel 8 not only to the more elaborate epiphany in Daniel 10 but also to Ezekiel 8.

Daniel 8:23-25 has been identified as an example of REGNAL or dynastic PROPHECY, analogous to the Babylonian Dynastic Prophecy (so Grayson, 21). A more extensive example of this genre will be found in ch. 11.

Daniel 8 is clearly influenced by a number of biblical models. Most obviously it is a companion piece for Daniel 7 ("that which appeared to me at the

first," 8:1). Daniel 7 is the model for the form of the symbolic vision. It is not followed rigidly, but it supplies some of the crucial symbolism, especially the "little horn" and the use of "holy ones" for angels. It may well be that chs. 7 and 8 were written by different persons, in view of the transition from Aramaic to Hebrew and the stylistic differences between the chapters. (See Niditch, ch. 3: Daniel 8 uses brief clauses, in contrast to the chains of synonymous terms characteristic of Daniel 7.) Yet Daniel 8 is evidently designed to complement ch. 7 and shares the same conceptual and symbolic world. Together they are parts of a composite whole. If that whole was produced by a group rather than by an individual it is nonetheless a coherent literary work.

A second biblical model operative in Daniel 8 is found in the book of Ezekiel. Daniel's location by a river recalls Ezek 1:1. The apparition of a figure in human likeness recalls Ezek 8:2 (LXX; MT must be emended from *'ēš*, "fire," to *'îš*, "man"). The manner of address, *ben 'ādām* ("son of man"), is also derived from Ezekiel. The model of Ezekiel applies most directly to the epiphany of the angel.

A third biblical influence is evident in the echoes of Habakkuk in 8:17, 19. Hab 2:3 reads *kî 'ôd ḥāzôn lammô'ēd wĕyāpēaḥ laqqēṣ wĕlō' yĕkazzēb* ("For still the vision awaits its time; it hastens to the end—it will not lie"). Daniel 8:17, 19 play on the terms *ḥāzôn*, *mô'ēd*, and *qēṣ* to suggest that the vision is for "the time of the end" and that the end will come in its appointed time. The eschatological reading of Habakkuk presupposed in Daniel finds a parallel now in the famous pesher on Habakkuk from Qumran.

The use of biblical models does not in itself make Daniel 8 either a MIDRASH or a PESHER. Other models are operative besides. Porter's observation of the use of animal imagery for Gentile nations is relevant here, but does not explain the specific choice of animals. It is now generally acknowledged that the symbolism of the ram and the he-goat is astrological and refers to the constellations thought in the Hellenistic age to preside over Persia and Syria (Caquot, Koch). The rise of the little horn, which casts some of the stars to the ground, recalls the allusion to Helal ben Shachar ("Lucifer [*RSV* Daystar], son of Dawn") in Isa 14:12. This in turn presupposes a MYTH which is not fully articulated in the Bible, and which may be ultimately related to the Ugaritic story of Attar's attempt to occupy the throne of Baal. This myth provides the paradigm for a crucial element of Daniel's vision, the hybris of the little horn and the assurance that it will be broken. Daniel 8, however, fashions a new whole from its various models. In no case can it be said to exist for the sake of explaining any of its prototypes.

### Setting

The dating to the reign of Belshazzar is a transparent fiction. The ram and the he-goat are interpreted explicitly as the kings of Media-Persia and Greece. The goat's first horn, which is broken, is clearly Alexander the Great, and the four horns which rise in its place are the generals who succeeded him. There is no doubt that the little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes, not only because the symbol is repeated from Daniel 7 but also because of what he does. The key to the historical setting lies in the information that the continual burnt offering was taken away and the place of the sanctuary overthrown. This is a clear reference to the desecration of

the Jerusalem temple in December 167 B.C. The chapter was probably written shortly after that event. It must also have been composed soon after Daniel 7, since that chapter was written after the outbreak of the persecution in mid-167 B.C.

Some scholars have suggested that the vision of the ram and the he-goat originally focused on the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great (e.g., Hasslberger, 401). The astrological symbolism, however, would be difficult to explain on that hypothesis, since the goat is associated with Syria rather than with Greece. Even if the hypothesis were correct, it would only concern approximately Dan 8:3-7, and we could not be sure of the original extent or purpose of the composition.

This vision introduces two matters which may be significant for the social location of the author and his circle. One is the intense concern for the desecrated sanctuary. This concern has suggested to some the hypothesis that the book originated in priestly circles (Lebram). Yet this inference is by no means necessary. Pious scribes in Jerusalem could equally well have felt the distress expressed here. Although the desecration of the temple is singled out in the angelic dialogue, it is not the ultimate focus of the vision. Rather, as in Daniel 7, the final concern is with the problem of Gentile power and world sovereignty.

The second matter introduced here is more informative about the social location. The little horn will not be broken by human hands. The author, then, is scarcely a supporter of the Maccabean revolt. His reliance on supernatural power will be evident again in ch. 11, and its implications will be more fully developed there.

### Intention

The primary purpose of this chapter is surely to suggest that the career of Antiochus conforms to the Lucifer pattern: hybris leads to a great fall. The chapter gradually builds up to the climax in v. 25. The vision begins with the ram which "did as he pleased and magnified himself" (v. 4). Yet when the he-goat appears the ram has no power to resist. Then the he-goat "magnified himself exceedingly; but when he was strong, the great horn was broken." The little horn, then, appears as the last in a series. It "grew great, even to the host of heaven" and "magnified itself, even up to the Prince of the host"; i.e., it exalted itself more than any of its predecessors. At this point the fulfillment of the pattern is delayed, first by the angelic dialogue, then by the epiphany of the interpreter. The interpretation repeats the account of Antiochus's rise, until "he shall even rise up against the Prince of princes." The conclusion is inevitable, and is stated with terse finality: "by no human hand, he shall be broken." This pattern of the rise and fall of human kingdoms runs throughout the book of Daniel, from ch. 2 on. It will be evident again in ch. 11.

The angelic dialogue with which the vision concludes introduces an important subsidiary concern, "for how long is the vision?" (v. 13). This question is highlighted by its position at the end of the vision, by the transition from vision to audition, and by the fact that it is expressed as a dialogue between angels. Most important is the assurance that the time is measured out and its duration is determined. The actual figure given, 1,150 days, will be subject to revision later in the

book. The preservation of different figures side by side (most conspicuously in 12:11, 12) suggests that the assurance that the end would come at an appointed time was more important than any specific date that could be given. Both the pattern and the prediction, then, serve the purpose of consolation in the face of the persecution.

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## THE INTERPRETATION OF JEREMIAH'S PROPHECY, 9:1-27

### Structure

| | |
|---|---|
| I. Introduction | 1-2 |
|   A. Date: first year of Darius | 1 |
|   B. Occasion: reading of Jeremiah's prophecy | 2 |
| II. Daniel's prayer | 3-19 |
|   A. Introductory statement | 3-4a |
|   B. The prayer | 4b-19 |
|     1. Invocation | 4b |
|     2. Confession of sin | 5-11a |
|       a. Direct confession of sin | 5-6 |
|       b. Confession combined with acknowledgment of divine justice | 7-8 |
|       c. Confession in terms of breach of covenant | 9-11a |
|     3. Description of divine punishment (marked by switch to passive verb in 11b) | 11b-14 |
|       a. Affirmation that the covenantal curses have been fulfilled | 11b-13 |
|       b. Affirmation of God's justice | 14 |
|     4. Prayer for mercy | 15-19 |
|       a. Invocation, introduced by "and now" | 15a |
|       b. Reminder of Exodus | 15b |
|       c. Confession of sin | 15c |
|       d. Fourfold supplication, each consisting of request plus reason ("for thy own sake") | 16-19 |
| III. The revelation | 20-27 |
|   A. Introductory statement of circumstances | 20-21a |
|   B. Epiphany of angel | 21b |

The main issue in dispute concerns the authenticity of the prayer in vv. 3-19. The Hebrew style of the prayer contrasts sharply with that of the rest of Daniel 8–12: it is a smoothly flowing pastiche of traditional phrases, free from Aramaisms. The dispute, however, is not about the authorship of the prayer, since the author of Daniel could have incorporated a traditional prayer and made it part of his composition (so, e.g., Montgomery). The argument is that the prayer is a secondary addition, after the completion of the book. It depends on two factors: First, the beginning and end of the prayer are marked by duplications (vv. 3, 4a, and 20, 21a), which have been taken as redactional seams. Second, many scholars have argued that the prayer is incongruous in its context. We should expect the prayer of an individual for illumination as in 4 Ezra 12:7-9. Instead we find a communal confession of sin. (Scholars who reject the prayer on these grounds include Ginsberg, Bentzen, and Hartman and DiLella. The arguments were formulated by A. von Gall in his dissertation, "Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel" [Giessen: Ricker, 1895].)

On the other hand, B. W. Jones has pointed out that "several words of the prayer are repeated in the conclusion of the chapter, or are recalled in some way" (p. 491): lhśkyl in vv. 13 and 22; forms of šûb and śkl in vv. 13 and 25; a form of šmm occurs in v. 17 apropos of the desolation of the temple, and again in v. 27 (the abomination of desolation); and there is a play on the word šōmĕmōtênû in v. 18; in v. 11 an oath (šb'h) is poured out (tittak) on the Jews, in v. 24 the weeks (šb'îm) are decreed (neḥtak), and in v. 27 the decreed end is poured out (tittak). Moreover, both the prayer and its framework refer to Jerusalem, which otherwise appears in Daniel only in 1:1. The word for supplications (tḥnwnym) appears in Daniel only in ch. 9, but in both prayer and framework; Words of the root ḥṭ' ("sin") appear in the prayer and in vv. 20 and 24 (framework), but otherwise only in Dan 4:24 (Gilbert, 291).

Whether the prayer is incongruous in its context is disputed. According to v. 3, Daniel turns to the Lord with fasting, sackcloth, and ashes. Fasting is often a preparation for receiving a revelation (so Daniel 10 and 4 Ezra, repeatedly). The sackcloth and ashes are penitential garb, however, and suggest that Daniel 9 is influenced by penitential liturgies (Lipinski, Gilbert). Despite the usual assumptions of commentators, Daniel does not ask for enlightenment about the "seventy years" of Jeremiah, or even express bewilderment about it. His reaction to the prophecy is not puzzlement but distress. Accordingly we should not necessarily assume that a prayer for enlightenment was implied here. The traditional confession of sin and prayer for mercy is an appropriate reaction to the prophecy

of Jeremiah. That Daniel prays in the plural is explicable if he is understood to pray on behalf of the people (cf. the prayer of Ezra in Ezra 9).

Another incongruity remains, however. The prayer is heavily Deuteronomic in its theology. It implies that the Jews are being punished for their sins and that God may relent if they do penance. The remainder of Daniel, including the angel's prophecy, views the course of history as predetermined because of the conduct of the Jews and not subject to alteration. The apparent contradiction between the theology of the prayer and that of the rest of the book is perhaps the major problem posed by this chapter (see Intention below). On strictly literary grounds, however, the apparent evidence for redactional seams must be weighed against the linguistic correspondences noted by Jones and Gilbert that suggest that the conclusion was written with the prayer in view. We have found some duplication also in the introductions to chs. 7 and 8. It is possible that such redundancy is simply a feature of the author's style and not necessarily indicative of redactional activity. While the matter is not beyond doubt, I am now inclined to reverse my earlier opinion (Apocalyptic Vision, 185-87) and accept the view that the traditional prayer was included by the author of Daniel 9 rather than by a later redactor.

The structure of the angel's prophecy requires some further comment. While it contains some rhythmic passages, the prophecy as a whole cannot be construed as poetry (pace Shea), but it achieves symmetry by balancing contrasts. The first major point of transition comes at the end of seven weeks, with the coming of a mšyḥ ngyd ("anointed prince"—Zerubbabel or Joshua the high priest) and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Then all is well, though times are hard, for sixty-two weeks. The second point of transition comes then, when a mšyḥ ("anointed one") is cut off and Jerusalem is destroyed. The nāgîd ("prince") who comes at this point is destructive. He undoes the sacrificial cult, whose restoration was promised at the beginning of the prophecy. The prophecy concludes with a promise that he will be destroyed. The middle period of sixty-two weeks is regarded as a relatively satisfactory time, and there is a measure of correspondence between the Urzeit of the Exile and the Endzeit when the cult is again disrupted.

### Genre

The dominant genre of Daniel 9 is the ANGELIC DISCOURSE. The PRAYER, which expresses Daniel's distress, and the EPIPHANY of the angel can be viewed as introductory material for the revelation.

The discourse itself is an exegetical MIDRASH or PESHER on Jer 25:11-12; 29:10. The angel does not explicitly claim to be expounding Jeremiah's prophecy, but the association is obvious in view of Daniel's preoccupation in 9:2.

The content of the midrash is an EX EVENTU PROPHECY in periodized form. The particular schema of seventy weeks of years is most probably suggested by the system of sabbatical years in Leviticus 25, which stipulated a jubilee after seven weeks of years. (Cf. also Lev 26:18, where God threatens to punish the disobedient sevenfold.) Klaus Koch has suggested that the number was extrapolated from the historical books of the Bible. The period from the Exodus to the building of the temple is reckoned at 480 years (1 Kgs 6:1). From then to its destruction was 430 years and the Exile was supposed to last seventy years (Jeremiah; Zech 1:12). Therefore the total time from the Exodus to the restoration

was 980 years (or twice 490). The period from Abraham to Sinai is also about 490 years, if allowance is made for Abraham's sojourn in Canaan. Koch suggests an underlying idea of a world-year with seven epochs of 490 years each. It must be said that the evidence for this view is not precise, but Koch may be on the right track in positing apocalyptic speculation on the duration of the world. Parallels to Daniel 9 are found in several apocalyptic writings of the second century B.C., most notably in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* in *1 Enoch* 93, where the turning point of history comes at the end of the seventh week. In the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 83–90) Israel is subjected to seventy shepherds. *T. Levi* 16:1 says that the priesthood will be profaned for seventy weeks, and claims to derive this knowledge from the book of *Enoch*. The Melchizedek Scroll from Qumran (11QMelch) has a schema of ten jubilees or 490 years, and there the background in Leviticus is obvious. The schema of seventy weeks is also explicit in the Pesher on the Periods (4Q180 and 181) from Qumran (J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976] 249–53).

Daniel's schema need not have been an ad hoc exegesis of Jeremiah, but may have been a deliberate conjunction of Jeremiah's prophecy and an apocalyptic schema which had been developed independently.

The PRAYER in Daniel 9 is a COMMUNAL CONFESSION OF SIN and a PETITION for mercy, like the Prayer of Azariah (see Gunkel, Westermann). Other major examples are found in Psalm 106; Ezra 9:6-15; Neh 1:5-11; 9:5-37; the "Words of the Luminaries" from Qumran; and Bar 1:15–3:8. (See further Steck, *Israel*, 110-36.) All these prayers are closely related to the so-called covenant form. They typically involve: 1) confession of breach of covenant, 2) admission of God's righteousness, 3) recollection of God's mercies, and 4) appeal for mercy for God's own sake.

The EPIPHANY of the angel is not developed here. It is simply a statement of the angel's arrival, without an accompanying description.

## *Setting*

The fictional setting of Daniel 9 is in the first year of Darius the Mede, presumably the first year after the fall of Babylon, so 539/38 B.C., considerably less than seventy years after the fall of Jerusalem. The actual historical setting must be inferred from the *ex eventu* prophecy. The latest events mentioned are the disruption of the sacrificial cult and the introduction of the "abomination of desolation" into the Jerusalem temple. We may infer that the chapter was written shortly after these events, at the end of 167 or very early in 166 B.C.

Daniel's reinterpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years contrasts with other interpretations in the postexilic period. 2 Chr 36:20-21 saw the fulfillment of the prophecy in the restoration under Cyrus (after less than fifty years). Zech 1:12 related it to the restoration of the temple (which was roughly accurate). Daniel extends the period of the "desolations of Jerusalem" enormously. The implied evaluation of the postexilic period is important for Daniel's location in the Judaism of the time. On the one hand, he can scarcely have belonged to the ruling priestly class, whose viewpoint is represented by books like Chronicles and Zechariah. This conclusion is not invalidated by the prominence of priestly and cultic terminology in 9:24, the sympathy for the "anointed one" who is cut off (presumably

Onias III), or the probable Levitical background of the seventy weeks of years. Daniel 9 is the only passage in the book where cultic motifs are prominent. Concern for the violated temple cult, however, must have been shared by many Jews outside priestly circles. On the other hand, Daniel's attitude to the postexilic period is not as negative as what we find in some other apocalyptic writings. The *Apocalypse of Weeks* in *1 Enoch* 93 ignores the restoration and refers only to "an apostate generation." The *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 89:73) implies that all the offerings in the second temple were unclean. *Testament of Levi* 16 also implies widespread cultic corruption in the postexilic period. By contrast, Daniel suggests that the sixty-two weeks after the restoration will be relatively satisfactory. Daniel is certainly in no way alienated from the temple cult. The circle which produced Daniel, then, should be distinguished from the priests who had ruled Judea for most of the postexilic period, on the one hand, and from the group that produced the *Enoch* literature, on the other.

As noted above, it is probable that Daniel's prayer is a traditional piece which was not originally composed for its present setting. If this is so, it could have been composed at any time after the Exile. It is not necessary to insist on a setting in the actual Exile (so Lacocque). We may infer from the number and diffusion of similar prayers that there was an ongoing synagogal tradition down into the Hellenistic period (see Steck, *Israel*).

The inclusion of this prayer tells us little about the author's circle. Any observant Jew would have been familiar with the liturgical tradition. We cannot affiliate everyone who used such a prayer with the Hasidim, especially since we have virtually no explicit information about the theology of that group. The inclusion of the prayer does, however, weigh against any suggestion that Daniel was produced by a narrowly sectarian group.

The lack of Aramaisms is not significant because of the conservative character of liturgical language. The significant setting of this prayer, before its incorporation into Daniel, is not the uncertain time or place of its composition but the liturgical tradition which persisted for centuries and was strongly Deuteronomic in inspiration.

## *Intention*

The primary intention of Daniel 9 is to assure the persecuted Jews that the time of trial is coming to an end by locating it in an overview of history. This is achieved through the angel's revelation, which specifies the total duration of the postexilic period (from "the going forth of the word to restore and rebuild Jerusalem"). The profanation of the temple is to last for half a week (i.e., three and a half years, or a time, two times, and half a time). The attention to specific lengths of time is significant for its psychological effect and was noted in antiquity as a distinctive characteristic of Daniel's prophecy (Josephus *Ant.* 10.11.7 §267).

Two other issues bear on the finer nuances of the intention of the chapter. One is the function of the prayer, and the other is the understanding of history in vv. 24-27. These two issues are directly related to each other.

We have noted already that the prayer has a strongly Deuteronomic character which contrasts, in the view of most scholars, with the theology of Daniel, including that expressed in 9:24-27. One solution to this anomaly is to suppose that

the prayer was added by a redactor whose theology differed from that of the apocalyptic book. If we accept the view that the prayer was included, though not composed, by the author of the revelation, various possibilities arise.

B. W. Jones has argued that the prayer is placed here deliberately to contrast with the angel's interpretation. "The prayer is needed to 'set the stage' for Gabriel, and when the prayer is ignored we are being told, in effect, that the calamity was decreed and will end at the appointed time, quite apart from prayers, and quite apart from previous ideas of retribution" (Jones, 493).

In a somewhat different vein W. S. Towner argues that the prayer is not intended to influence the will of God but is an act of piety in itself, a *miṣwâ:* "It is, taken as a whole, an illustration of the activity of a faithful man living between the times, testifying to his utter dependence upon a God of righteousness and *ḥesed* and celebrating the manifest greatness of such a God" (Towner, 213).

On the other hand, O. H. Steck has argued for a more integral relation between the prayer and its context, by discerning a Deuteronomic view of history in 9:24-27 (Steck, "Weltgeschehen," 65-75). For Steck, the crucial idea is that the sufferings of the Jews are seen as a punishment for sin. This idea is first introduced in Daniel in 8:19, where the "indignation" *(za'am)* which must come to an end is understood as the punitive wrath of God. In ch. 9 this understanding of history emerges more clearly. The duration of the seventy weeks of years is decreed "to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin [reading *ḥātēm* for *ḥᵉtōm*] and to atone for iniquity" (so also Janssen and Zimmerli). Steck contrasts the focus on the history of Israel in ch. 9 with the concern for the world-kingdoms in chs. 7 and 8. He argues then that Daniel 9 attests a shift in the theology of the book and ascribes it to the influence of the Deuteronomic strand of tradition, which we find in the penitential prayers of the postexilic period.

Steck's interpretation is open to question at several points. If Daniel now wishes to explain the distress of the Jews as a punishment for their sins, it is remarkable that the angel never says so explicitly, e.g., that the seventy weeks of years are decreed because of the sin of the people. The data from which Steck's interpretation is inferred are actually quite ambiguous.

Daniel 9:24 states that the seventy weeks of years are decreed "to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin, and to atone for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal [i.e., validate] both vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy place." These infinitives evidently refer to the end of the time period. The focal point is the rededication of the temple. This event, and the decreed end which is to be poured out on the desolator (9:27), will mark the end of sin and the coming of eternal righteousness. "To atone for iniquity," then, is not an ongoing process for the seventy weeks of years, but something that will happen at the end and apparently will coincide with the rededication of the temple. The sin and iniquity are not specified, but they surely include the desecration of the temple by the Syrians and the Hellenizers. The complexity of this question becomes apparent in ch. 11, where a clear distinction is drawn between the righteous and sinners within the Jewish people. The traditional Deuteronomic idea of the sins of Israel, which is presupposed in the prayer, is not adequately nuanced for the situation envisaged by 9:24.

The term *za'am* is used in Dan 8:19 and 11:36, and the verb *zā'am* is used in Zech 1:12, where God is said to have been indignant against Jerusalem for

seventy years. Daniel 8 is thus seen to prepare for Daniel 9 by positing an age of wrath which will last until "many days hence" (8:26; Steck, "Weltgeschehen," 67). Common terminology, however, does not necessarily ensure the same understanding. Daniel obviously diverges from Zechariah's understanding of the seventy years. Moreover, the term *za'am* is not used in Daniel 9 in relation to the seventy weeks of years. In Daniel 8 and 11 it is used with reference to the career of Antiochus Epiphanes, and there it is used absolutely ("the wrath," not, e.g., "the wrath of God") in a way that suggests that it is a quasi-technical term for eschatological woes (cf. already Isa 26:20 and the use of the Greek *orgē* in Matt 3:7). Moreover, in Dan 11:30 the verb *zā'am* is used with Antiochus, not God, as subject, which raises the possibility that *za'am* in 8:19 and 11:36 is the indignation of the king rather than of God. The inference that the whole postexilic period is an age of wrath is scarcely warranted. If Antiochus Epiphanes is seen as an agent of divine wrath (Steck, "Weltgeschehen," 71; cf. Isa 10:5, where *za'am* [*RSV* "fury"] is used) this is implicit rather than explicit in the text.

In fact, the angelic revelation in Daniel 9 does not address the question *why* the Jews must endure the desolation of Jerusalem. It is rather concerned with the duration of that desolation. Other Jewish texts from the Hellenistic period do indeed view the persecution as a punishment for sin (2 Macc 7:18; *T. Moses* 8:1; 9:2). If such an understanding is presupposed in Daniel, it is not clearly articulated and is certainly not emphasized. We will find in ch. 11 that the suffering of the righteous Jews is viewed as purificatory (11:35), but this is rather different from the punitive understanding which Steck attributes to the prayer in Daniel 9.

The focus on the history of Israel in Daniel 9 provides a different perspective from the world-kingdoms of Daniel 7 and 8, but the two viewpoints are complementary and there is no necessary tension between them. Even Zech 1:12-17, which clearly sees the seventy years as a punishment for Israel's sins, lays the greater blame on the Gentiles who furthered the disaster. In Daniel, too, the primary cause of the desolation is not the sin of Israel but the rebellious actions of the Gentiles. The protagonist in the last week is Antiochus Epiphanes, not the Jewish Hellenizers, and he is not called the rod of Yahweh's anger by Gabriel in Daniel 9, but is labeled "the desolator."

Moreover, Steck's attempt to assimilate Daniel to the Deuteronomic tradition loses sight of a crucial difference between the theologies of history implied in the prayer and in the angel's discourse, a difference which has been well demonstrated by Jones. The prayer, like the entire Deuteronomic tradition, assumes a causal connection between the people's repentance and supplication and the divine deliverance: the intended sequence is clearly stated in Dan 9:19: "O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, give heed and act" (cf. Ps 107:13: "Then they cried to the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them from their distress"). The deliverance promised by the angel, however, is in no sense a response to Daniel's prayer. It will not even come for almost five hundred years; moreover, the word went forth at the *beginning* of Daniel's supplication. The end will come at the appointed time because it is decreed, not because of Daniel's prayer or any act of repentance by the people. This deterministic, apocalyptic view of history is in fundamental contrast to the Deuteronomic theology of the prayer. (This is also true of other apocalyptic texts which Steck assimilates to the Deuteronomic tradition: *Apocalypse of Weeks, Animal Apocalypse, Jubilees* [Steck, *Israel,* 153-62].)

What then is the function of the prayer in Daniel 9? As Towner has argued, the prayer is a traditional set piece, and its recitation is an act of piety. While its content does not represent the angel's or the author's theology, it is appropriate as the prayer of one who, at the end of ch. 8, does not understand. We may compare 4 Ezra 8:48-49, where the angel commends Ezra "because you have humbled yourself, as is becoming for you, and have not deemed yourself to be among the righteous." The interpretation proposed by Jones also has merit, since the wisdom imparted to Daniel is indeed a sharp departure from the traditional theology. The conflict of theologies is not as sharp here as in 4 Ezra. We need not assume any polemical intent on the part of the author. In effect, however, Daniel 9 entails a rejection of Deuteronomic theology, not an acceptance of its influence.

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## THE ANGEL'S REVELATION, 10:1 – 12:13

### Structure

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. Introduction (in third person) | | 10:1 |
| | A. Date formula | 1a |
| | B. Summary statements | 1b |
| II. Epiphany of the angel | | 10:2-9 |
| | A. Introduction (in first person) | 2-4 |
| | 1. Preparation of seer | 2-3 |
| | 2. Occasion of vision | 4 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | B. Description of the epiphany ("I lifted my eyes . . . and behold") | 5-6 |
| | C. Reactions to the epiphany | 7-9 |
| | 1. Flight of those who did not see the vision | 7 |
| | 2. Daniel's reaction to the vision | 8 |
| | 3. Daniel's reaction to the audition | 9 |
| III. Dialogue with the angel (introduced by "and behold . . .") | | 10:10–11:1 |
| | A. Explanatory address by angel | 10:10-14 |
| | 1. Partial elevation of Daniel | 10 |
| | 2. Brief address of angel | 11a |
| | 3. Rise of Daniel to standing position | 11b |
| | 4. Longer address of angel | 12-14 |
| | B. Daniel's profession of weakness | 10:15-17 |
| | 1. Daniel's dumbness | 15 |
| | 2. Opening of Daniel's mouth | 16a |
| | 3. His profession of weakness | 16b-17 |
| | C. Angel's reassurance | 10:18-19a |
| | 1. By touch | 18 |
| | 2. By word | 19a |
| | D. Statement by Daniel: "let my lord speak . . ." | 10:19b |
| | E. Further explanatory remarks by angel | 10:20–11:1 |
| IV. Angelic discourse | | 11:2–12:4 |
| | A. Introductory statement: "and now I will show you the truth" | 11:2a |
| | B. Regnal prophecy of a succession of kings, introduced by such phrases as "a king shall arise" | 11:2b-45 |
| | 1. The Persian era ("three more kings shall arise") | 2b |
| | 2. Career of Alexander ("a mighty king shall arise") | 3-4 |
| | 3. The rise of the Ptolemies, to the first interdynastic marriage | 5-6 |
| | 4. War between Egypt and Syria | 7-9 |
| | 5. Career of Antiochus III | 10-19 |
| |   a. First campaign against Egypt | 10-12 |
| |   b. Second campaign against Egypt | 13-15 |
| |   c. Triumphant phase (he shall do according to his own will) | 16-18a |
| |   d. Fall | 18b-19 |
| | 6. Brief career of Seleucus IV | 20 |
| | 7. Career of Antiochus Epiphanes | 21-45 |
| |   a. His rise | 21-24 |
| |   b. First campaign against Egypt | 25-28 |

The major divisions in this unit coincide in several cases with shifts in the metaphysical levels involved. First, the apparition of the angel in II leads to an explanation of the metaphysical backdrop of the historical action in III. Then the angelic discourse switches back to narrate history in terms of human actions. The eschatological section of the discourse is marked by a return to the metaphysical plane, when "Michael shall arise." The supplementary vision focuses on the exact duration of the persecution. The repetition of concluding instructions (12:4, 9, 13) enhances the sense of closure at the end of this chapter.

Within the angelic discourse there is evident parallelism between the careers of Antiochus III and Antiochus IV. The latter clearly escalates matters by magnifying himself even against God, thereby moving events to a crisis, which is resolved in the eschatological conclusion.

The unity of this section has been questioned at several points: Hasslberger (p. 135) rejects 10:1 because it is in the third person, 10:2 lacks a connecting *wĕ* ("and"), 1b is superfluous, and the *ṣābā'* ("conflict") mentioned as the subject of the vision is never mentioned again. It is true that this verse provides a summary

introduction to the revelation and therefore has an editorial quality, but this does not necessarily require separate authorship. Apocalyptic literature seldom conforms to modern standards of consistency and economy. The dating formula is also in the third person in ch. 7.

Hasslberger also regards 10:20–11:1 as secondary because he finds them awkward and partially repetitive of 10:12-14. Here again he seems to be imposing stylistic ideals on the text. Minor terminological variations (e.g., *śar pāras* for *śar malkût pāras*) cannot be taken as signs of a different hand. Other scholars have rejected 11:1 as an attempt "to identify the unknown *angelus revelator* of this apocalypse with the angel Gabriel in ch. 9," and therefore an editorial insertion (Hartman and DiLella, 276-77). We may question, however, whether the identification is necessarily secondary, if both chapters come from the same circle or even from the same author.

More substantive questions arise about the coherence of the epilogue, 12:5-13, with the rest of the unit. This passage is formally distinct since it contains a new vision. It serves as a conclusion to the whole book as well as to chs. 10–12. Yet it is not marked off by a new dating formula, as the other units are. The "two others" of 12:5 presuppose the revealing angel of ch. 10. Dan 12:9-10 echoes 11:35 and 12:4. The statement in 12:9 that "the words are shut up and sealed" appears to presuppose some lapse of time after the command to "shut up the words, and seal the book" in 12:4, but there is no adequate reason to posit different authorship.

Within the epilogue, the conflicting numbers in 12:11 and 12 can only be explained as successive attempts to give precision to the "time, two times, and half a time" of 12:7. Verse 11 was presumably added after the lapse of the 1150 days mentioned in 8:14, and 12:12 after the lapse of the number in 12:11.

### Genre

Daniel 10:1–12:4 is in itself a complete "HISTORICAL" APOCALYPSE in the form of an EPIPHANY with an ANGELIC DISCOURSE. The epiphany is influenced by Ezekiel 1 and 8–10 and is itself echoed in Rev 1:13-15. The parallels with Isaiah 6 claimed by Nicol are on a more general level and of doubtful significance.

The epiphany is integrated here into an elaborate apocalypse which begins with an account of the circumstances and the predisposition of the seer, proceeds with the dialogue and angelic discourse, and concludes with the address by the angel in 12:4. The apocalyptic character of the revelation is assured by the role of the angelic "princes" and the explicit account of resurrection. The vision *(mar'eh)* referred to in 10:1, in parallel with *dābār* ("word"), presumably refers to the entire revelation, which begins with the epiphany. In the form of revelation Daniel 10–12 then resembles Daniel 9 rather than the symbolic visions of chs. 7 and 8.

Prior to the apparition, Daniel is said to be mourning and fasting. No cause for his grief is given here. Presumably it is related to his mourning in ch. 9, but we should note that fasting is often part of the process of receiving a vision; cf. *2 Bar.* 21:1; 47:2; 4 Ezra 5:20; 6:35; 9:24. (See Niditch, also Reid.)

The angelic discourse largely consists of the *ex eventu* REGNAL PROPHECY, which has affinities with Babylonian works such as the Dynastic Prophecy (Lambert). The main point of analogy lies in the use of anonymous formulas such as

"a king will arise." The portrayal of Antiochus Epiphanes rising up "above every God" is "a reuse of the old Canaanite myth of the rebellion in the heavens which finds its OT reflex in such passages as Isa 14:3-21 and Ezek 28:1-19" (Clifford, 25). This myth is also reflected in Daniel 8.

An alternative interpretation has been put forward by Lebram, who holds that the historical material in Daniel 11 is derived from an Egyptian source and that the portrayal of Antiochus is modeled on Egyptian traditions about Cambyses as the evil king par excellence. It is not apparent, however, that Daniel's historical sources were Egyptian; indeed, the preponderant interest is in the careers of two Syrian kings, Antiochus III and IV. The motif of scaling heaven appears in a rather different way in the Middle Persian legend of Kay Kâûs (allegedly a name for Cambyses; see Lewy) who is carried up on a throne by an eagle. This legend does not, however, provide as good a parallel to Daniel as the myth of Helal ben Shachar in Isaiah 14. That Cambyses died in Syria on his way back to Persia (Herodotus *Hist.* 3.64) is taken by Lebram as the basis for the prediction that Antiochus would die in the land of Israel (Dan 11:40-45), but here again the parallel is not exact. A better parallel is surely the prophecy in Ezekiel 39 that Gog, the quasi-mythical eschatological adversary, would fall on the mountains of Israel. Lebram's study is valuable in that it draws attention to an Egyptian tradition which is phenomenologically similar to the portrayal of Antiochus here, even though it is not the most immediate background of the Danielic passage. (Note esp. the allusions to a hated "king from Syria" in the Potter's Oracle, an Egyptian political oracle which is similar in some respects to the historical apocalypses, and also the use of this Egyptian tradition in the Jewish *Sib. Or.* 3:611-15.)

Biblical allusions play an important part here as in other chapters of Daniel. H. L. Ginsberg has shown that the heroes of the book, the *maśkîlîm* ("wise teachers"), are modeled on the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53. The term *maśkîl* itself may be adapted from the opening verse of the Servant poem—*hinnēh yaśkîl 'abdî* ("behold, my servant shall prosper," Isa 52:13). When the *maśkîlîm* are said to make the *rabbîm* ("many") understand and especially when the *maśkîlîm* are also described as *maṣdîqê hārabbîm* (lit. "those who justify the many") in 12:3, there is a direct allusion to Isa 53:11 ("my servant shall justify the many"). The exaltation of the servant then is the model for the *maśkîlîm*, who will shine like the stars. The use of Isaiah here does not determine the genre of the passage, which is not developed as a midrash on the Servant Song, but it obviously contributes to the meaning of Daniel.

The resurrection scene in Dan 12:1-3 has been characterized as a DESCRIPTION OF A JUDGMENT SCENE by Nickelsburg, who identifies the following constitutive elements:

(1) The witnesses: Michael, the angel defender; the angelic opponent is presupposed.
(2) The book of life.
(3) The resurrection, by which the dead participate in the judgment.
(4) The consequences of the judgment: vindication and condemnation.

It must also be said that crucial elements of the judgment scene are lacking, most notably the presiding judge. It is not clear that Michael serves as a witness here. (Nickelsburg assumes a confrontation of angelic advocates as in Zechariah 3.)

When Michael is said to arise (12:1) the reference may be to his victory in the heavenly battle. The allusion to the book of life certainly presupposes a judgment scene, but that scene is not described. Instead, Dan 12:1-3 is simply an ESCHATOLOGICAL PROPHECY.

The epilogue is a REVELATORY DIALOGUE, including a very brief description of the EPIPHANY of the angelic figures.

## Setting

This is the only segment of Daniel that is dated to the reign of Cyrus the Persian by its introduction. It is thereby indicated as the last segment of the book. The forward glance to the "prince of Greece" in 10:20 completes the four-kingdom sequence and adds to the impression of finality.

The actual historical setting is evident in ch. 11. As Porphyry already observed, the prophecy is correct down to the career of Antiochus Epiphanes but not in the prediction of his death. The conservative argument that the concluding verses refer to the Antichrist of a distant eschaton is gratuitous: the text gives no indication of a change of referent. The author knows Antiochus's two campaigns against Egypt, the desecration of the temple in Jerusalem, and the fortification of the Akra, but not the reconsecration of the temple or the actual death of the king in late 164 B.C. Daniel 10-12 must have been written in the intervening period, between late 167 and late 164 B.C. It is evident from 11:33-35 that it was written in the heat of the persecution (cf. 1 Macc 1:54-64; 2 Maccabees 6-7). There is no evidence of a significant time lapse between the composition of chs. 8, 9, and 10-12, and as we have seen Daniel 7 may be no more than a few months older than Daniel 8.

Daniel 11 also gives some indication of the circles in which the book was written. The heroes of the persecution are the *maśkîlîm* or wise teachers, and they are singled out for special honor in the resurrection. Their role is to make the *rabbîm*, or masses, understand and to turn them to righteousness. The understanding they convey is presumably that which is contained in the book of Daniel itself. Their death is construed as a substitute for cultic purification, but they are not said to be priests. Distress over the disruption of the temple cult is not necessarily a mark of priestly authorship. Daniel 11 makes no mention of the Maccabees. The "little help" in Dan 11:34 has often been taken, since Porphyry, as a reference to the Maccabees, but this is doubtful. There is no hint of militancy in Daniel and the author would scarcely have regarded the Maccabees as a help in the task of making the masses understand. The "little help" is more likely to refer to the few who shared the viewpoint of the *maśkîlîm*. Again, the popular identification with the Hasidim of the Maccabean books is ill founded, since these were "mighty warriors of Israel" (1 Macc 2:42) who supported Judas enthusiastically (2 Macc 14:6) until the arrival of Alcimus. All we are told about the *maśkîlîm* is that they were teachers. If they were scribes, they were quite different from the scribalism of Ben Sira, in view of their visionary inclination.

The author of Daniel puts the blame for the persecution squarely on Antiochus Epiphanes, but he is said to give heed to those who forsake the holy covenant (11:30). This must surely be read as an allusion to the so-called Hellenistic Reform described in 1 and 2 Maccabees (pace Lebram, "Apokalyptik"). Daniel's perspective, however, is that of the world-kingdoms rather than of the

internal Jewish tensions. The career of Epiphanes is viewed in the context of Hellenistic history, and is anticipated, in a lesser degree, by the career of Antiochus III. It cannot be said that Daniel takes sides in the struggles between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. He is vehemently anti-Seleucid but at no point is there any hint of pro-Ptolemaic sympathies, and the Ptolemies do not figure in the predictions about the time of the end. (Contrast the pro-Ptolemaic Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* 3 in this regard.)

The specific dates in 12:11-12 are later additions which extend slightly the three and a half years of 12:7. What is remarkable is that these additions must have been made *after* the rededication of the temple, which took place three years after its desecration (1 Macc 4:54). This fact has some implications for the intention of the book.

### Intention

The intention of Daniel 10–12 is evidently to console and exhort the persecuted Jews, but this formulation does not do full justice to the rhetorical effect of the apocalypse.

First, we are alerted in 10:1 that the effect of the revelation is *understanding*, and in 10:14 the angel says explicitly that he "came to make you *understand* what is to befall your people in the latter days." The understanding conveyed by the angel has its counterpart in the understanding which the *maśkîlîm* impart to the *rabbîm*. It consists not only of the historical prophecy but also of its metaphysical backdrop. The conflict of Michael and Gabriel with the heavenly "princes" of Persia and Greece is even more important than the earthly battles. The resolution of history comes in 12:1 when Michael arises, not when Judas Maccabee or any other human leader is victorious. Since this angelic activity is not immediately obvious in history it is especially crucial to the revealed understanding.

Second, the use of *ex eventu* prophecy is significant. It integrates the focal events of the Maccabean era into the sequence of history and permits the clarification of Epiphanes' career by showing a similar tendency earlier in the dynasty. More fundamentally, it builds the assurance that all is predetermined, since so much can be "predicted" accurately. The *ex eventu* prophecy, then, augments the epiphany as a means of lending authority to the real prophecies of the death of the king and the resurrection.

Third, the group which is comforted is specified more narrowly in view of the division within the Jewish community that is evident in 11:30-35. There is a sharp distinction between those who violate the covenant and those who know their God. The community which will be saved does not include the whole Jewish people, and the *maśkîlîm* stand out as a special class within it.

Finally, the specific hope which is offered is important. It involves not only the death of the persecutor and the victory of the angel Michael, but also the resurrection of the dead. This hope responds directly to the dilemma of the persecution. It does not propose a general resurrection, but "many" will rise, some to everlasting life, some to everlasting contempt. Again, the *maśkîlîm* are singled out. They will "shine like the stars," which in apocalyptic idiom means to become companions to the angelic host (cf. *1 Enoch* 104:2, 4, 6). The *maśkîlîm*, then, can afford to lose their lives in this world since they are assured of glory in the next. The prophecy of resurrection is not "temporally indeterminate" (Hasslberger,

316). The expression "at that time" indicates direct continuity with the events of ch. 11.

The hope of resurrection is mentioned in Daniel only in the concluding chapter. Daniel 7 had spoken of a kingdom, and Daniel 8 and 9 seemed primarily concerned with the restoration of the temple. The question arises how these hopes are related to each other. There are two possible ways of approaching this question. One would suppose a chronological development in the different chapters. The other would view them as complementary panels which together make up a multifaceted whole.

The argument for chronological development is a precarious one. All four units in Daniel 7–12 were composed within a very short time. Even if Daniel 7 is ascribed to a different author, by reason of style and language, it is clear that the author of Daniel 8 followed him closely and must have belonged to the same circle. All four units contain a review of history prior to Antiochus Epiphanes, focus on the career of Epiphanes, and predict his demise by supernatural power. All four see Epiphanes' rebellion against God as the heart of the matter. (Daniel 9 is least clear in this regard: it speaks of Epiphanes as "the prince who is to come" and "the desolator.") The desecration of the temple is most prominent in chs. 8 and 9 but it also figures in ch. 11, and ch. 7 notes that Epiphanes "shall think to change the times and the law," a reference to the disruption of the cultic calendar. Even in the expectations of salvation there is no necessary contradiction. Daniel 7 does not address the fate of individuals and Daniel 12 does not address the public aspects of salvation. Neither chapter claims to give an exclusive or complete picture. In fact, the "kingdom" of ch. 7 is notoriously vague. It appears to have two dimensions, the dominion of the angelic holy ones and the kingdom of the Jewish "people of the holy ones" on earth. Since the kingdom is awarded in a heavenly judgment scene, its relation to the historical, political order is less than clear. Moreover, Daniel 11–12 never says that all history will cease. The selective resurrection of the dead is not incompatible with an ongoing Jewish kingdom. It should, of course, be clear that a new era is involved, one which is drastically different from all that has gone before. The state of salvation cannot simply be equated with the restoration of the temple or the end of the persecution (pace Hasslberger, 316). Even in ch. 9 the "end" also involves the end of transgression and the beginning of everlasting righteousness.

The visions were surely understood as complementary by the person who put the book together, and there is no good evidence that this person was anyone other than the author of chs. 8–12. Even if the belief in resurrection came to the author at a relatively late stage in the composition of the book, all the eschatological visions must now be read in the light of it. In fact, there is no compelling evidence that ch. 12 represents a change in the theology of the visions.

The placing of the prophecy of resurrection at the end of the book can be explained more satisfactorily by the stylistic reason that it is a climactic revelation. Daniel 10–12 is by far the longest unit in the book. It is also by far the most detailed in its discussion of the historical context and the clearest in its presentation of the metaphysical backdrop. This long revelation builds up to the announcement of resurrection, which is the last substantive revelation of the book. It is also the most distinctive revelation of Daniel, over against earlier prophetic and, more generally, biblical tradition (Collins, "Eschatology"; the belief may be attested

earlier in some of the *Enoch* writings). There is no doubt that Daniel 10–12 clarifies the historical context of all the visions and it may be taken to clarify the mythological and eschatological dimensions in a similar way. The "kingdom" of ch. 7 is then seen in a new light. What is at issue is not just a new political administration or even the restoration of the temple, but a new order where the faithful community shares the power of the heavenly holy ones and the wise teachers shine with them in eternal life.

The brief epilogue focuses again on the question of time, which has also played a part in the earlier visions. The attempt to specify the time makes the assurance of the prediction more concrete and therefore more comforting. The initial figure, a time, two times, and half a time, in 12:7 was already given in ch. 7. The glosses in 12:11 and 12, however, must be seen as revisions of the figure in 8:14. Here we are presumably dealing with a case of "cognitive dissonance" (Festinger, Carroll). When the prophecy had not been fulfilled by the specified time, the figures were revised. These revisions must have taken place after the rededication of the temple by Judas Maccabee. Yet the redactor, at least (he may also have been the author), did not regard the prophecy as fulfilled. The promise of the angel in 12:7 was that "all these things would be accomplished"; i.e., transgression would cease, an era of righteousness would begin, the dead would be resurrected, and the "people of the holy ones" would receive dominion over all the kingdoms under heaven. Obviously, none of this had happened. Remarkably, the contradictory numbers were allowed to remain side by side. The exact date was not ultimately so important, or perhaps it was regarded as yet another of the mysteries that was only revealed in a symbolic code.

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# GLOSSARY

**ACCUSATION** (Anklage). A speech alleging that someone has broken the law or otherwise done wrong. This speech form had its original setting in judicial practice, but was adapted by the prophets and could be used in a literary context. It may be addressed directly to the accused or refer to them in the third person. The simplest form of an accusation is a declaratory sentence (cf. 2 Sam 12:9b; Jer 29:21, 23) or accusing question (2 Sam 12:9a; Jer 22:15). A more developed form establishes a causal connection between the offense and its consequence (cf. 1 Sam 15:23).

Related genres: (→) Indictment Speech, (→) Admonition, (→) Covenant Lawsuit.

C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (tr. H. C. White; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967) 142-48.

**ADMONITION** (Mahnung, Mahnrede). An address designed to dissuade an individual or a group from a certain type of conduct. It is widely attested in the prophetic and wisdom literature and occasionally in apocalyptic books (e.g., Dan 4:24 [*RSV* 27]).

**ANGELIC DISCOURSE** (Rede eines Engels, Gespräch zwischen Engeln). A revelation delivered as a speech by an angel, often as a constituent of an (→) apocalypse or vision. It may follow an (→) epiphany as in Daniel 10–11 or be reported without visual element as in *Jub.* 2:1ff. The most plausible background is in the message dreams of the ancient Near East.

Related genre: (→) Apocalypse.

**APOCALYPSE** (Apokalypse). A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, in that it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, in that it involves another, supernatural, world.

The two main subgenres are apocalypses with or without an otherworldly journey. The point at issue here is not the presence or absence of a single motif, since the otherworldly journey provides the context for the revelation and determines the form of the work (cf. *1 Enoch* 1–36; *2 Enoch*; *3 Baruch*). All the Jewish apocalypses which are not otherworldly journeys have a review of history in some form and may be conveniently labeled "historical" apocalypses (cf. Daniel; the *Animal Apocalypse* and *Apocalypse of Weeks* in *1 Enoch*; *4 Ezra*; *2 Baruch*).

The genre functions to provide a view of the world that will be a